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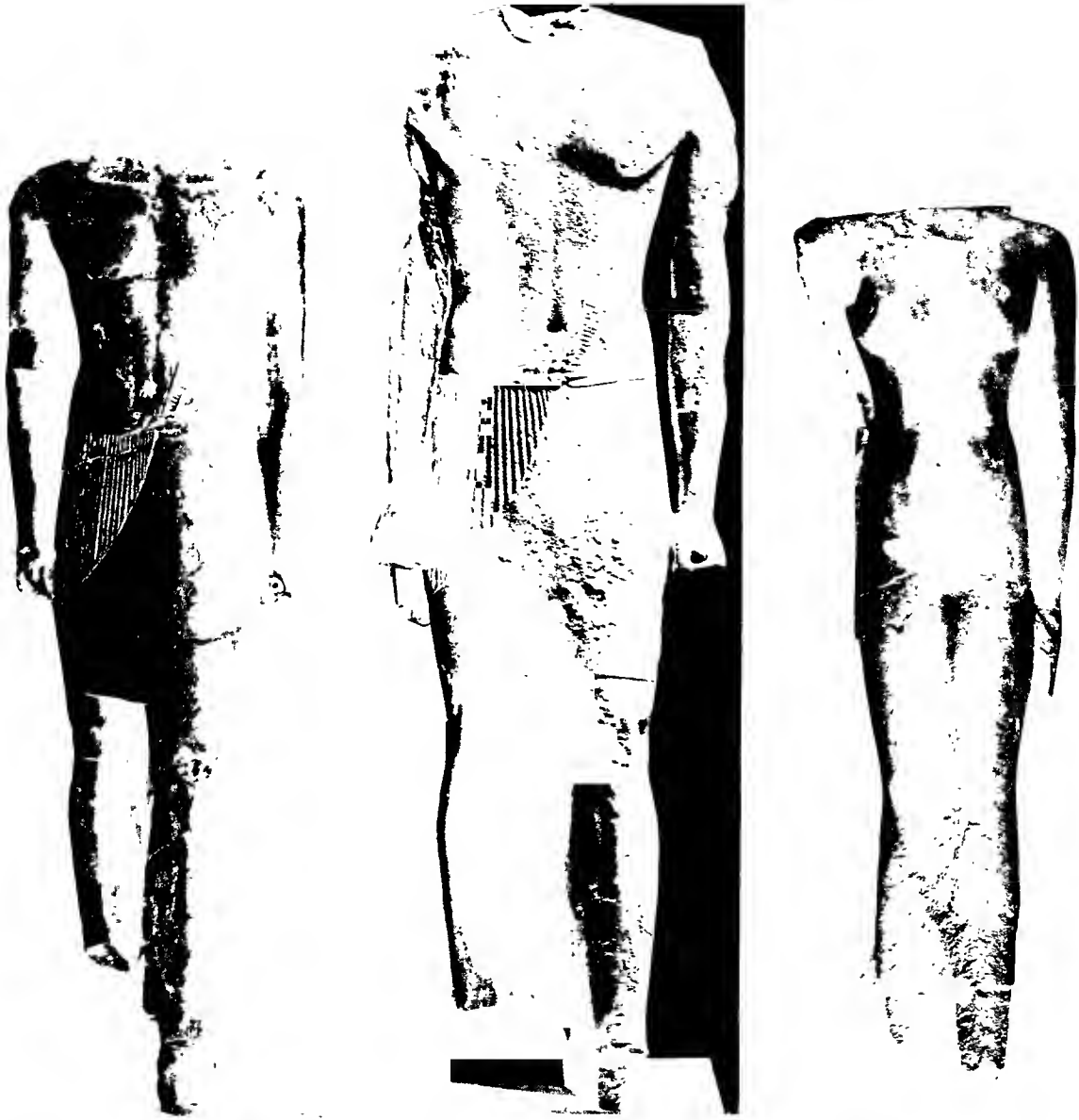
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THREE STATUES FROM A FIFTH DYNASTY FAMILY GROUP

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NOTICE TO MEMBERS, LIBRARIANS, AND OTHERS

As noted already in Vol. XXX, it is proposed to replace the annual Indexes that were customary until Vol. XXVII by a quinquennial or decennial Index, which will be issued, accordingly, with either Vol. XXXII or Vol. XXXVII.

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

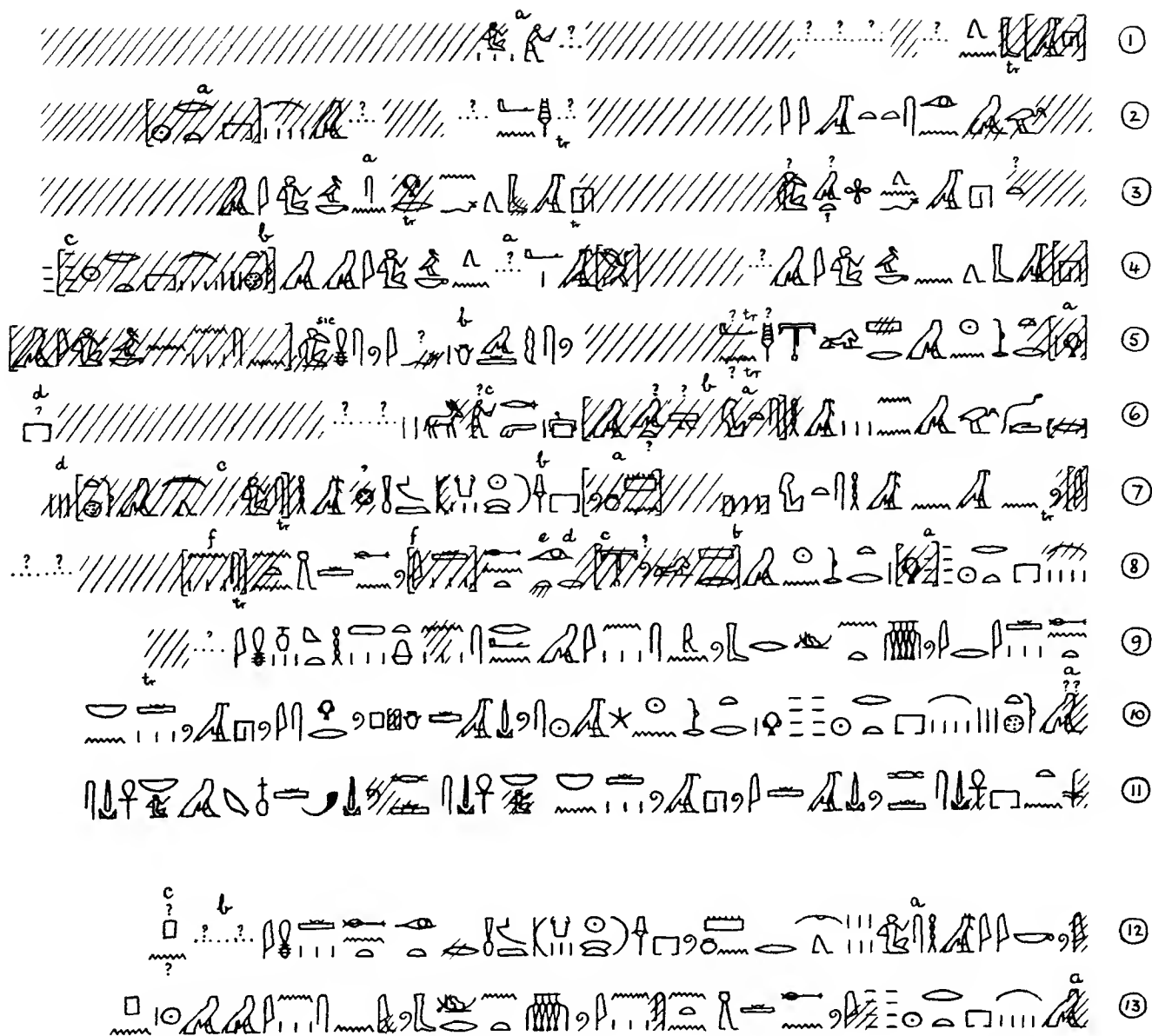
SINCE this *Journal* last went to Press, the War has ended and relations have been resumed with many colleagues across the Channel. In the previous volume it was possible, at the last moment, to squeeze in three lines of news from France. Unhappily, our self-congratulations were justified only in part, since our science has sustained in that country two grievous losses by death. In M. Charles Boreux, the Keeper of the Egyptian Antiquities of the Louvre, all who knew him admired not only a very able administrator but also a man of great distinction and outstanding courtesy. Under his régime study of the Paris collections was made both easy and pleasant, and the casual visitor unwittingly profited greatly by his splendid rearrangement of the down-stair rooms. His published works were not very numerous, but included an elaborate treatise on Old Kingdom ships, and an altogether excellent catalogue of the objects under his care. Our Society owed Boreux a special debt, for through his influence the Louvre for several years contributed handsomely to our Nubian excavations. The other French scholar whose death we have to mourn was one whose knowledge and versatility were no less great than those of our late President, Stephen Gaselee. Seymour de Ricci gained an extraordinary reputation in many different fields, as Latin epigraphist, bibliographer, papyrologist, authority on old furniture and incunabula and much else besides. For a number of years he worked in close association with that other great polymath Salomon Reinach. The present writer has special reason to remember de Ricci with gratitude and affection, since both were much thrown together whilst in their teens, and the enthusiasm and amazing knowledge of so precocious a youngster could not fail to act as a most stimulating example. As to the manner of his death no details have come to hand, but we learn with deep sorrow that it was tragic.

The news from Brussels has been uniformly good, and not unexpectedly centres round the person of our extraordinarily active Honorary Vice-President, M. Jean Capart. Not only has he kept alive during the war his valuable *Chronique d'Égypte*, but a great spate of well-printed books on art, medicine, etc., as well as essays and reports of lectures, has issued from the Fondation Reine Élisabeth, of which he is the Director. The number of new works from the occupied countries which we must soon sit down to study is very great, even alarmingly so. Holland has vied with Belgium and France in this respect, and the Dutch Near Eastern Society has likewise produced its annual reports without a break, not to speak of various monographs. Denmark also has been productive, and we are proud to have early received from the Professor of Egyptology in Copenhagen the following telegram: *After the deliverance of Denmark Danish Egyptologists extend thankful greetings—C. E. Sander-Hansen.* From the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad the Editor had a no less cordial letter from Professor Lourie, and this was accompanied by a large parcel of Egyptological books very tantalizing to those unable to read them.

What, then, of the enemy countries? As regards the collections and libraries it has been impossible to obtain any information at all, and efforts to secure the war-time publications have thus far completely failed. Brussels has supplied us with the titles of many articles in periodicals, and most of the new German books have been reviewed in the *Chronique d'Égypte*. Students may have much difficulty in acquiring such new works, since Leipzig, the great book-centre, was very heavily bombed. Far more serious would be losses of actual antiquities, especially if unpublished; some distressing rumours have reached us, but will not be here retailed, as they are quite unconfirmed. In England we have to deplore the destruction of the collection in the Liverpool Museum, a terrible blow. No student of hieroglyphics can fail to be anxious concerning the fate of the materials for the still far from complete *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, the slips for which, numbering more than a million and a half, were stored at the top of the Neues Museum in Berlin. Even if these have survived, it looks as though we must reconcile ourselves to a long further wait for the termination of an enterprise started fifty years ago.

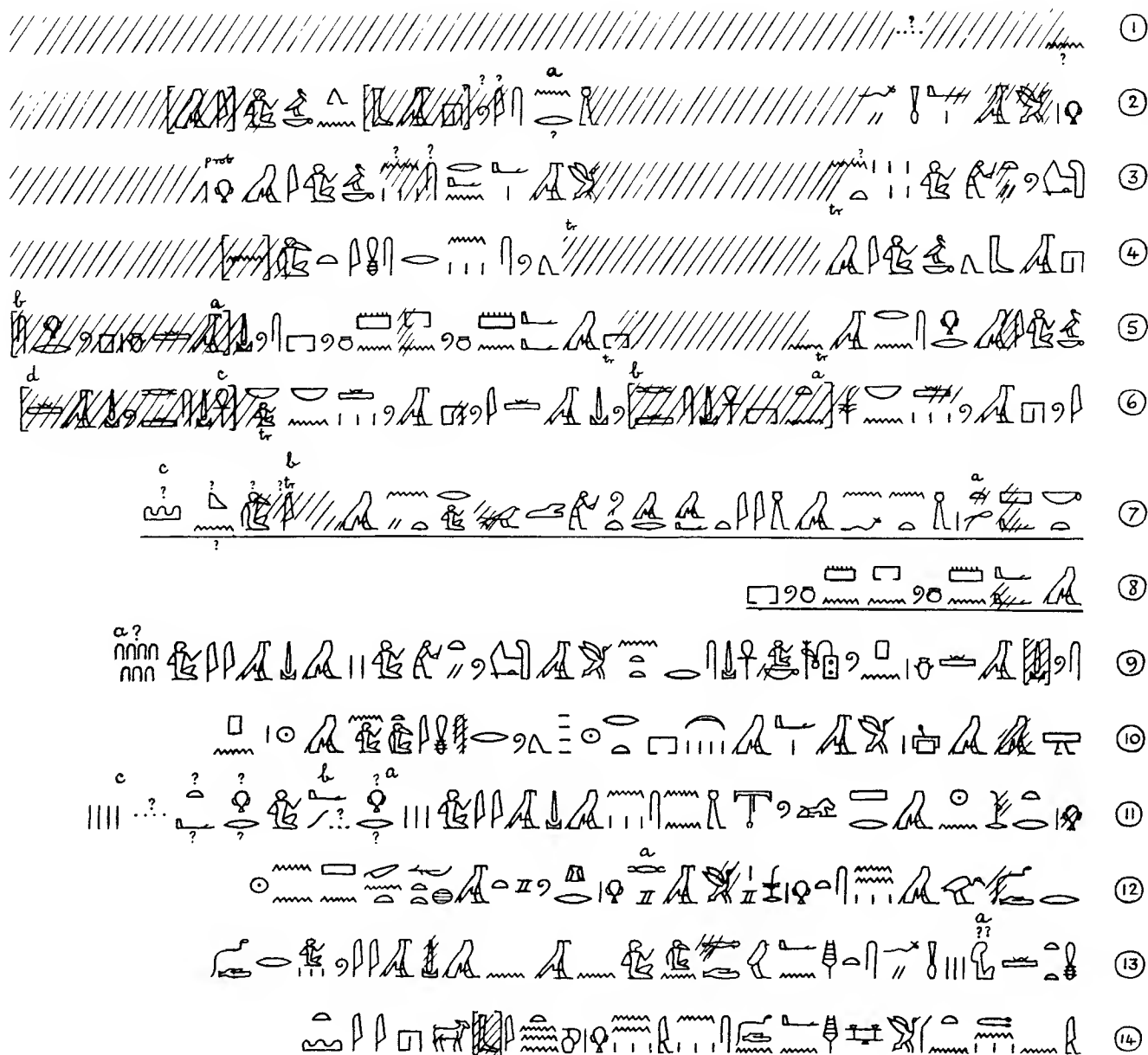
Dr. Bell has contributed the following: 'The death of Ulrich Wilcken robs papyrology of its greatest figure. He belonged indeed to the race of giants; and his papyrological activity, begun almost at the birth of the science, was continued until his death. A great scholar himself, he was an ever ready helper to all workers in his field and as generous of encouragement as of assistance. His standards were high, none higher, but he was always ready to make allowances for the failures of a beginner. No better characterization of him could be given than a remark made by a French scholar to a British colleague. After observing what a happy family papyrologists (unlike some archaeologists) had always been, he added: "I put that down largely to Wilcken; he has always been such a perfect gentleman." Amid the welter of war and national animosities which marks our unhappy century, that eulogy of a German by a Frenchman deserves remembrance.'

Limitations of space prevent us from devoting more than a wholly inadequate mention to two very active researchers whose passing is deeply regretted. Dr. D. Randall-MacIver dug for our Society in 1900-1, and the volume on *El-Amrah and Abydos* bears his name in company with that of A. C. Mace. His important subsequent excavations in Nubia were conducted on behalf of the Philadelphia Museum. Many Egyptologists, including the present writer and the late Professor Peet, owe a great debt to this most warm-hearted and generous scholar, whose earliest and latest work ranged over widely different fields. More recent is the death of Mr. A. Lucas, the distinguished chemist of the Cairo Museum. The present volume of the *Journal* contains, perhaps, the last of his writings. His book on *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* stands alone in its important field. Of his personality all that can be here said is that it was impossible to know him without regarding him with admiration and friendship.



1, a. The signs suggest the lwt of 3,12; 4,3, but the sign before R is not like any a in this papyrus. 2, a. Restored from the dates below, passim. 3, a. For the form of l here cf. 1,2. 4, a. Not o, for the verb spr is written R by this scribe (1,12; 5,9). 4, b-c. The space suits this, cf. 1,10. 5, a. Restored from 1,10; 3,10, etc. 5, b. For the form cf. 2,9. 6, a. Restored from nhsut in next line. 6, b. Here was probably a numeral rather than lll. 6, c. Not much like R elsewhere (2,3.7.9; 3,7.8.9.12; 4,3.8). 6, d. OT l? n? 7, a. Cf. 1,12. 7, b. On this sign (also in 1,12; 5,9) see n. to translation. 7, c. Here was probably a numeral. 7, d. For the form cf. 1,10. 8, a. Restored from 5,9. 8, b-c. Restored from 1,5; 2,11; 5,9. 9 is written out in 2,11, not in 1,5. 8, d. The appearance of the sign is distorted by stray fibres; no other reading seems possible; cf. 4,2. 8, e. Apparently a full form of a split horizontally. 8, f. Restored from 1,13; 6,11. 10, a. The scribe elsewhere (1,13; 2,8; 3,11; 4,11; 6,10) uses the full form of R at the beginning of a line; but the traces here do not suit that. 12, a. A correction. 12, b. See n. to translation. 12, c. Resembles full form of o in pn (contrast 1,13, end) in 2,10. 13, a. See n. to 1,10, a.

Page 1



2, a. mm distorted by shreds of fibre. Below it, \bigcirc or Δ . 5, a-b. Restored from 1, 10; 4, 5; 5, 6. 6, a-b. Restored from 1, 11; 3, 5; 5, 6. 6, c-d. Restored from 1, 11; 5, 7. 7, a. The forms of the determinative here and in 3, 7; 4, 6; 5, 8; (bis). 11 are quite abnormal for \mathcal{T} and differ from this sign in 'rky 3, 13; but no other transcription seems possible, unless perhaps \mathcal{P} . 7, b-c. See n. to translation. 9, a. Not \mathcal{N} , for which cf. 3, 14. 11, a-c. See n. to translation. 11, b. Cf. 3, 11, b; 4, 7, c. 12, a. Cf. 3, 13; 4, 4. 13, a. See n. to translation.

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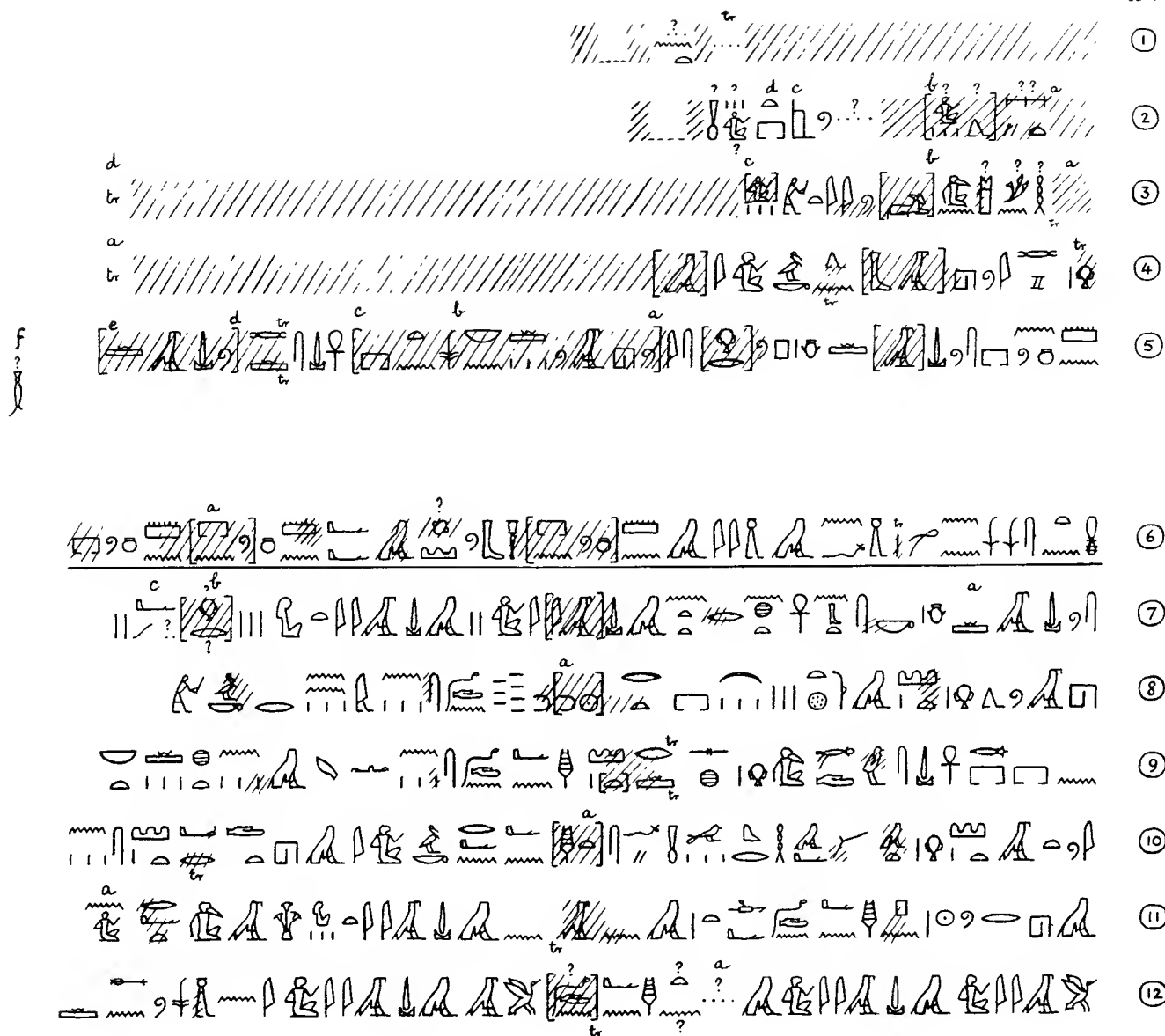
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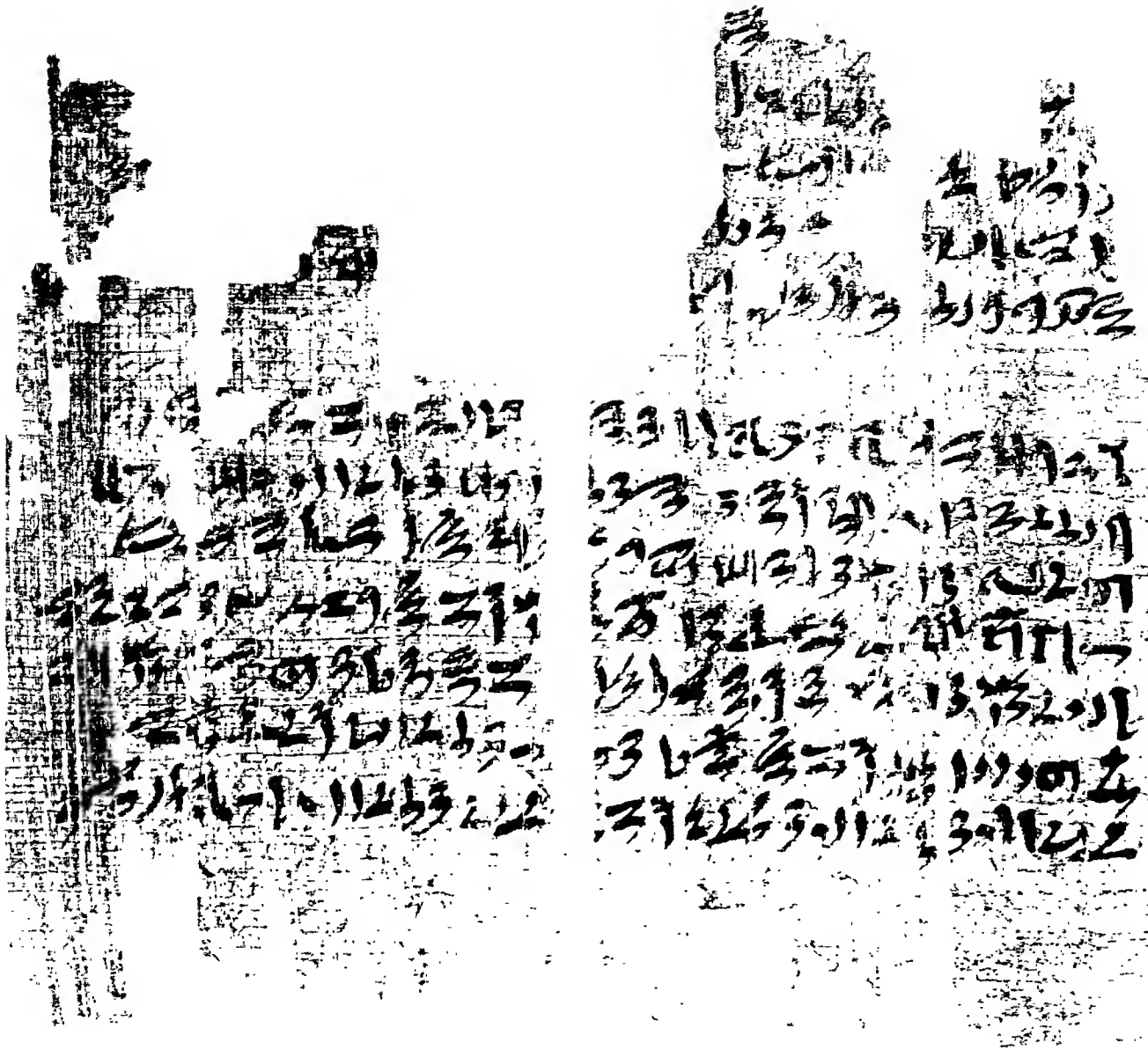
4, a. Or (the sign for which - cf. 1, 11; 3, 5; 5, 7 - it exactly resembles in this papyrus)? Possibly ? Cf. 3, 12, b. 13, a, and n. to translation. 4, b-c. Restored because we seem to have here the end of a speech; cf. 2, 2, 13; 4, 10. 5, a-b. Restored from e.g. 1, 10-11. 7, a *, written *, touches ; the next sign as in Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* I, 443, 'Bulaq 18'? . 8, a-b. Seems to be the reading, though the first group not quite like in 5, 13. 11, a-c. See n. to translation. 11, b. For this group cf. 2, 11, b; 4, 7, c. 12, a. Certainly *nty*, written as in 2, 7; 3, 7; 5, 12, and not *ntt*, which is written , not , see 2, 9; 3, 8; 4, 7. 12, b. and 13, a. See n. to 3, 4, a. 13, b. Not , which would leave the last sign unexplained. 14, a. For as a horizontal stroke under cf. 4, 11, a; 5, 5, b.

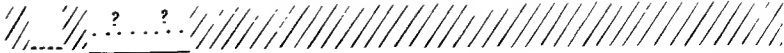
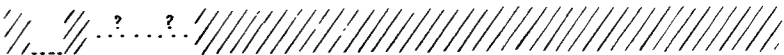
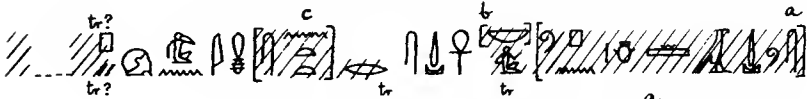

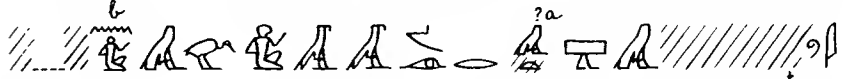



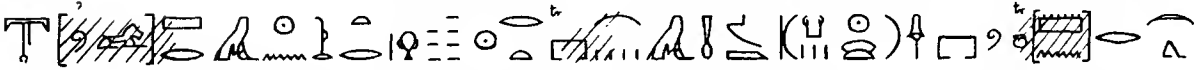


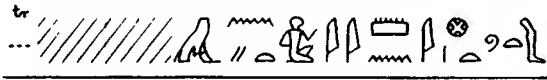
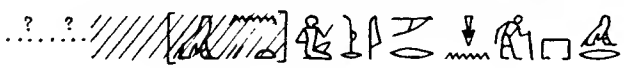
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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript or document fragment.

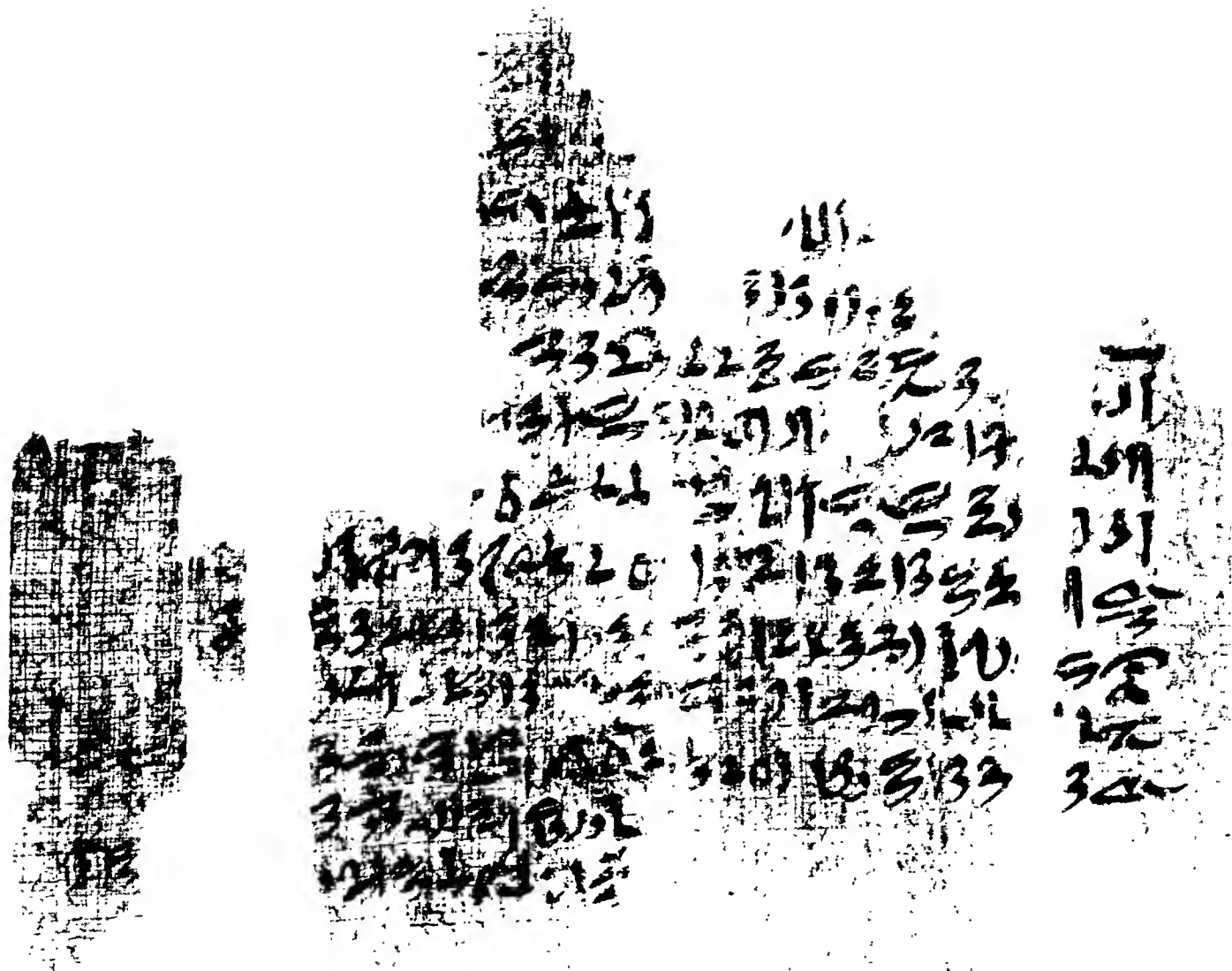


2, a-b. Cf. 3, 4, 12. 2, c. Cursive form as in Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* I, 383, 'Ikkahun', last sign. 2, d. Cursive form of \square as in \square , 2, 8; 3, 5, 7. 3, a. Hardly \square , see n. to 1, 10, a. 3, b-c. Cf. 3, 12. 3, d and 4, a. This fragment is perhaps not correctly placed. 5, a-c, d-e. Restored from e.g. 1, 10-11. 5, b-c. Or \square as in 1, 11; 2, 6; 5, 7? Or \square as in 3, 6? 5, f. Evidently belongs to the earlier writing of the palimpsest. 6, a. Restored from e.g. 2, 8. 7, a. A correction? 7, b. Cf. 2, 11, a. 7, c. Cf. 2, 11, b; 3, 11, b. 8, a. \circ alone would not fill the gap. 10, a. Cf. 2, 13. 11, a. Cf. n. to 3, 14, a. 12, a. See n. to translation.



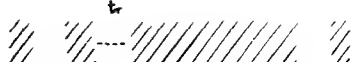
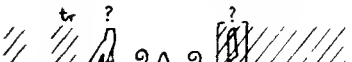
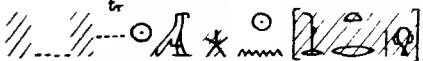


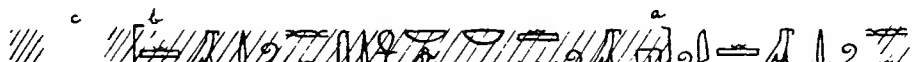

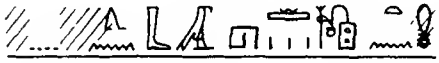

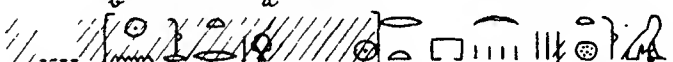
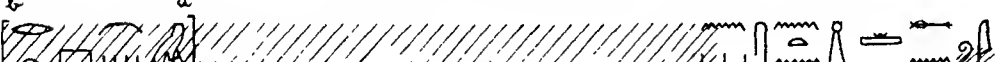


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



3, a-b, c. Restored from 3, 2. 4, a. The low day-number makes 'month 4' certain; cf. 1, 8. 13; 2, 10, etc. 5, a. Queer form, but can hardly be anything else. 5, b. See n. to 3, 14, a. 7, a. A correction. 7, b-c. Restored from 1, 11. 8, a. Either 111 or a numeral is lost; if the former, it doubtless stood under 11. 11, a-b. See n. to translation.



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- ⑧  ⑧
- ⑨  ⑨
- ⑩  ⑩
- ⑪  ⑪
- ⑫  ⑫
- ⑬  ⑬

4, a-b. Restored from 1, 8. 9. 13. 5, a-d. Restored from 1, 9; 1, 13, end; 1, 10-11. 5, b-c. Cf. 1, 9, end. 6, a-b. Restored from 1, 11. 6, c. No room for the formula *nfr sdm nb*, 'w.s.', as in 1, 11; 5, 7 (and cf. 3, b), since some words must have stood here introducing the names in the next line. 7, a-b. The groups strongly suggest this, with  as in Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* I, 545, 'Allahun', and  as in *PP* 3, 7; 5, 12. The last group is not , for which cf. 2, 7; 4, 10. No trace of determinative  is visible. 10, a-b. Restored from e.g. 1, 10; 3, 10. 11, a-b. Or III  etc? Cf. 1, 13. 12, a-b. Cf. n. to 1, 8, b-c.

THE SEMNAH DESPATCHES

By PAUL C. SMITHER

[BY the death, on September 2, 1943, of Paul Cecil Smither at the age of 29, British Egyptology lost one of its brightest hopes. Attracted very early to the study of Egyptian, he later received every possible encouragement from Dr. Gardiner, and in 1936 entered The Queen's College, Oxford, becoming a pupil of the undersigned. He was already widely read in Egyptian texts, and during his undergraduate years showed a remarkable command of the literature, and fertility in ideas—good ideas; long before taking Schools he had begun to write for this *Journal* a series of articles, communications, bibliographical contributions, and reviews which were of the happiest augury for the future of himself and his science.¹ Not long after obtaining First Class Honours in Egyptology in 1939 he entered a department of the Foreign Office, but throughout the ensuing years, until struck down in the summer of 1943 by a lengthy illness which was to prove fatal, he managed to make time for much Egyptological work, published and unpublished, in addition to the exemplary discharge of arduous and exacting official duties. When he fell ill he had several articles and larger projects on hand, and had been especially occupied with a set of photographs, handed to him by Dr. Gardiner, of one of the group of Middle Kingdom papyri found in the Ramesseum by Quibell² in 1896 and containing also the 'R' MSS. of *Sinuhe* and *The Eloquent Peasant*, and an onomasticon, the list of Nubian fortresses in which, published by Gardiner in *JEA* III, will be cited several times below. On these prints—in war conditions it was impossible to consult the original—he continued to work throughout his illness, until almost the day of his death, doing his utmost to establish an accurate transcription of the very cursive hieratic, and making notes with a view to giving the text the fullest possible background of political and economic conditions in Middle-Kingdom Nubia. At his death he had got no farther than the transcription and a number of notes, largely bibliographical. The former is, however, such a brilliant feat of decipherment of a very difficult hand that it has been decided to publish it as both a valuable contribution to Egyptology and a memorial to its author, accompanying it with the sort of translation and additional notes that the present writer (with whom Smither discussed many difficult points during his illness) believes that he would have supplied. A commentary such as Smither intended to write cannot now be given; it must be poorly replaced by a few general remarks.

The papyrus contains, on the *recto*, copies of a number of despatches sent from the

¹ The following are references to these—a score in all: vol. XXV (1939), 34-7, 103, 104, 121, 124-5, 126, 129, 157-65, 166-9, 173-4, 201, 203, 204, 205-8, 210-12, 220; vol. XXVI (1940), 163-4; vol. XXVII (1941), 74-6, 131-2, 158-9; vol. XXVIII (1942), 16-19.

² See J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London, 1898), p. 3.

fortress of Semnah called 'Khaḥkawrē' (= Sesostri III) is mighty' or from elsewhere. Unfortunately no one of these missives is preserved complete. The headings found with Nos. 3–5 allude to the person addressed simply by means of the pronoun of the third person; no doubt there was at the beginning of the papyrus an introductory heading that would have enlightened us as to his identity. At all events he was of high rank, since in No. 3 he is addressed with the periphrasis 'your scribe'. It is uncertain who was the author of the two-line annotation at the bottom of p. 1; perhaps it was a mere postscript to the first letter. At the end of Despatch No. 6 six lines in red (5, 8–13) refer to a reply made to the foregoing letter and to a copy of this reply which was communicated to three officers in other fortresses. Nothing at all can be learnt about the writers in this correspondence. That the papyrus was found at Thebes indicates, perhaps, that the mysterious 'he' mentioned in 2, 7; 3, 7; 4, 6; 5, 8, was some high official resident at the capital; he will have received the despatches in ordinary letter-form, and then they will have been copied into a 'journal' or letter-book by way of permanent record. The *verso* of the papyrus is covered with magical texts, and it is doubtless for the sake of these alone that the papyrus was preserved.

The despatches deal with the comings and goings of Nubians (*Nḥsyw*), who came to Semnah to trade their wares, and Medjay-people, and mention more than once the steps taken to keep track of the movements of these southerners in the desert. It is surprising that it should have been thought necessary to report such trivial activities officially to higher authorities and to other fortresses.

This curious document makes it clear that some, at least, of the Nubian fortresses had a dual function, serving on the one hand as ramparts against possible military aggression and the constant pressure northwards of the population of the Sudan, and on the other as trading stations. In the Middle Kingdom Semnah was the frontier, as we know from the two 'Semnah stelae' of Sesostri III, and it will be seen that those southerners who came to trade their wares were sent back to their homes when the trading was completed (1, 9.13; 5, 10; 6, 4), and some Medjay-people who announced that they had come to work for the Egyptian Government were 'dismissed to their desert' (4, 10); it is thus clear that as a rule they were not allowed to pass the frontier. This agrees with the royal command of the smaller Semnah stela, Berlin 14753,¹ that only a Nubian who had come to trade at Yeḫen, farther north, or on special official business, might pass north of Heḫ, usually taken to be the Semnah district,² and that no boats or herds or flocks of the Nubians might in any case pass the frontier.³

It is certainly significant that in addition to the regular epistolary formulae of the Middle Kingdom several despatches contain the quite unusual assurance that 'all the

¹ Published, e.g., Sethe, *Lesest.*, 84, 19 ff. The most precise indication of the place where this stela and the larger one Berlin 1157 were found seems to be that in the Wilkinson MSS., XI, 97—'below fortress [of Semnah] to E^t and W^t are 2 tablets fallen among the stones'.

² Gardiner, *JEA* III, 190, n. 2; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, sub voc.

³ Thus such Nubians as were allowed to pass, together with their goods, if they were traders bound for Yeḫen (where perhaps certain special kinds of wares were traded), might make the rest of their journey only in boats (hence the embargo on animals), and those Egyptian ones.

affairs of the King's Domain (*pr-nsu*), l.p.h., are safe and sound' (1, 10; 2, 6; 3, 5; 5, 6),¹ preceding the usual assurance that 'all the affairs of the Master, l.p.h., are safe and sound'. The 'King's Domain' seems to have included both crown lands and crown revenues derived from taxes and other contributions, monopolies, and so forth. It is probable from these despatches that the trading at the frontier was done on the Egyptian side by government officials; these, or some of them, will have been attached to the *pr-nsu*, and perhaps have been responsible also for the goods sent from Egypt for barter and for the despatch down the river of the goods acquired from the Nubians, as property of the crown.²

Fortunately it seems possible to date the despatches fairly closely. The many dates mentioned, all in year 3 of a king not mentioned, afford no clue, but the Simontu referred to in 5, 11 was identified by Smither, doubtless rightly, with the man of the same name and titles who has left on the rocks at Semnah records of himself dated to the 6th and 9th years of Ammenemes III (see n. to the passage), i.e. about 1844 and 1841 B.C. Since this king reigned for about half a century, and since in the name of the Semnah fortress Sesostri III, his predecessor, is referred to as 'the late' (*mr-hrw*), we may pretty safely ascribe the papyrus to his reign.

A glance at the photographs (pls. II-VII) will show how much the document has suffered. However, in the original the whole length of the papyrus is continuous, so that the order of the pages is certain. The last incomplete page has not been reproduced in photography, since it contains little that is new, and is unworthy of a plate to itself. An unknown number of lines (at least three, Smither estimated) is lost at the top of each page. The writing is that of a practised scribe, normal in general character, but presenting many difficulties, including some quite obscure passages; it resembles the writing of several of the El-Lāhūn business documents, with many of which it is contemporary. The orthography is also on the whole normal for the period; the omission of the determinative 𓂏 in the verbs 𓂏 (as in *Pap. Boulaq* 18) and 𓂏𓂏, and the writing 𓂏𓂏 of *iry*, are, however, somewhat archaic features. The hieratic form of 𓂏, determinative of *šrt*, *smn*, seems to be unique. Several headings are written in red in the original, as well as the six last lines of p. 5. Such red writing is indicated in the transcriptions by an underline, and in the translations by the use of small capitals.

Had Paul Smither been able to consult the original papyrus he would doubtless have succeeded in reading a number of groups that he was obliged to leave in doubt; the difficulty of working from photographs only (excellent as these are) is known to all editors of papyri. Dr. Gardiner has recently contributed some new readings. The plates of transcriptions have been made by Mrs. Smither.—BATTISCOMBE GUNN.]

¹ It is doubtless merely coincidence that the only other letters in which I find similar assurances are both addressed to viceroys of Nubia, namely *Urk.* IV, 81, 3 (Dyn. XVIII), and Pleyte-Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. 67, 14 = Möller, *Hierat. Lesest.* III, p. 7, 14 (Dyn. XX), for both are royal missives, and *pr-nsu* will have in them its frequent meaning of 'palace', 'royal household'.

² For some sidelights on civil activities at the Semnah fortress see the interesting article on seal-impressions found there in *Bull. M.F.A.* (Boston) XXVIII, 47 ff.



[Despatch No. 1, from Semnah]

[Page 1, see pls. II, IIA]

..... (x+1) wrote troop(?)¹ (2) found his(?) had done (or made) it Then in month 4 of [Prōyet, day] ... (3) ... [caused?] food to go down to him. ... He wrote about it to this servant (4) this servant wrote the track² which this servant ... ed³ in [year 3, month 4 of Prōyet, day] 7, (5) [at] the time of evening. Then inform him. [They] reported [to this servant,] (6) saying, 'We found the ... Nubian [women had gone(?) in] charge of(?)⁴ two strong(?)⁵ asses⁶ (7) These Nubian women [the fortress:] '(The-late-)Kha'kawrē-is-mighty.'⁷ [X(?)] Nubians [arrived(?) in year] 3,⁸ (8) month 4 of Prōyet, day 7,⁹ [at] the time of ev[ening,] to do trade. What [they] had brought was traded (9) the trading thereof.¹⁰ (They) sailed up-stream¹¹ to the place whence they had come, bread and beer having been given to them like (10) in year 3, month 4 of Prōyet, day 8, at the time of morning.



It is a communication about it. All the affairs of (11) the King's Domain,¹² l.p.h., are safe and sound; all the affairs of the Master,¹³ l.p.h., are safe and sound. May the hearing of the Master, l.p.h., be good!

¹ Probably the same word as *izvyt* in 3, 12, partly restored in 4, 3. *Wb.* does not know this word; it is perhaps a miswriting of *izvyt* (*Wb.* 1, 51, 11) 'Art Truppe, besonders als Besatzung im Ausland', which suits the sense in 3, 12.

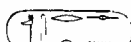
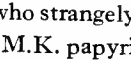


² Smither considered that the word  here and in 2, 3; 3, 14, means 'track', 'trace', rather than 'group' of people, and is therefore identical with the  of P. Anast. I, 20, 6, P. Anast. V, 20, 4 (bis), rendered 'trace' by Gardiner in *Egn. Hieratic Texts*, 1, 1, p. 22*, n. 12, and 'Fußspur' in *Wb.* 1, 159 (4); see also *Rec. trav.* XIII, pl. facing p. 76, 'LD. III. 140. d.', l. 5, with *JEA* IV, 251: 'mountains which were far from men and *nb hndw hr hswt* any track that was trodden in the deserts'. (For *hnd* in association with *ε* see perhaps 3, 14 below.)



³ Some verb of motion?



⁴ Or perhaps 'after', 'to seek', [*m*] *st*.



⁵ If the reading  is correct we have here a writing similar to  'white-loaf' (Siūt Contracts, passim), with the determinative after an adjective.

⁶ Smither thought that *hr-fy st* 'so said they' ought to have occurred somewhere here, as it does after other reported speeches; cf. 2, 2. 13; 4, 2(?). 10; it is, however, omitted after the Medjay-woman's short speech in 4, 11-12.

⁷ This fortress (also mentioned in 1, 12; 5, 9), the name of which occurs in the well-known Nile-level inscription of Dyn. XIII at Semnah, Leps., *Denkm.*, II, 151, c, the Ramesseum Onomasticon (see Gardiner in *JEA* III, 185) and two scarab-sealings found at the fort (see Reisner in *Bull. M.F.A.* (Boston) XXVIII, 51), was shown by Gardiner, *JEA* III, 188, to be either the fortress of Semnah or that of Semnat el-Gharb. For the identification with the latter ('Semna West') see Reisner in *Bull. M.F.A.* XXVII, 64; XXVIII, 51; in *Harvard African Studies* VI, 549, he takes the same view, but on p. 554 he states that it is Semnah East. The value of the first element has been doubtful, Gardiner, loc. cit., giving *shm* or *hrp*, Reisner, *Bull. M.F.A.* XXVII, 64 and Sethe, *Erläut. Lesest.*, 167, *shm*, and Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 37, 'kherp'. The sign has surely the same value as in  |  (the pyramid town of Sesostri II, written twice thus on a M.K. stela published by Petrie (who strangely identifies it with the Semnah fortress!) in *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. 12, 7. [For this place in the M.K. papyri see the Brief Communication on pp. 106 f. below.] Now  with the stroke occurs frequently with value *shm*, cf. *Wb.* IV, 243-4, never, apparently, with value *hrp*, cf. *Wb.* III, 326-9; therefore  is doubtless to be read *shm* in the names of both town and fortress. 'The late' (*mrc-hrw*) is of course no essential part of the fortress-name.

⁸ The hieratic trace suits  better than .

⁹  of  is restored from 5, 9 because this incident is evidently referred to there.

¹⁰ , older writing of *iry*; but  seems to occur in 3, 11.

¹¹ *Iw hnt*, also in 1, 13, perhaps a passive form; cf. *wšd*, 4, 9.

¹² See p. 5 above.

¹³ See the Brief Communication on pp. 107 f. below.

(12) Six other Nubians arrived at the fortress '(The-late-)Khaḥkawrē-is-mighty' to do trade like this . . . ¹ (13) in² month 4 of Prōyet, day 8. What they had brought was traded. (They) sailed up-stream to the place whence they had come, on this day.³

[Despatch No. 2]⁴

[Page 2, see pls. III, IIIA]

. (x+1) . . . (illegible traces) (2) on the track'—so [he(?)]⁵ said brought with regard to(?) it. [This] servant [wrote]⁶ (3) five guardsmen⁷ who(?) the track. This servant placed them upon (4) (when?) this servant writes (when?) they come to report [to] (5) this servant because of it,⁸ regarding these as one fortress sending⁹ to another fortress.¹⁰

[It is a] communication [because of it]. (6) All the affairs of the King's [Domain, l.p.h., are safe] and sound; all the affairs of the Master, [l.p.h., are safe and sound].

[Despatch No. 3, from Yeḫen (?)]

(7) ANOTHER LETTER WHICH WAS BROUGHT TO HIM,¹¹ BEING ONE BROUGHT FROM THE LASHANE¹² SEBK-WĒR, WHO IS IN YEḬEN(?),¹³ (8) AS ONE FORTRESS SENDING TO ANOTHER FORTRESS.

(9) It is a communication to your scribe,¹⁴ l.p.h., about the fact that those two guardsmen and seventy(?) Medjay-people (10) who went following that track in month 4 of Prōyet, day 4, came to report to me on this¹⁵ day (11) at the time of evening, having brought three Medjay-men,

¹ The ink trace on the left of the hole is apparently a round spot, not the end of a horizontal stroke.

² It is noted to 1, 10, a in the transcription that this scribe elsewhere writes *m* in the old, full form at the beginning of a line (and there only); some other scribes seem to follow the same practice with *m* when it is the preposition, cf. *Kah. Pap.*, 22, 3; 29, 34; 35, 18; 36, 42. In the horizontal ll. 124–60 of *Sh. S.* the full form is used everywhere for *m* preposition and for that only, a distinction which breaks down in ll. 161–76.

³ Meaning probably, here and elsewhere in these despatches, 'on the same day', not 'to-day'.


⁴ Brought with No. 3, see l. 7.

⁵ Or '[they]'.





⁶ Or perhaps 'it was [written] to this servant'.

⁷ A merely arbitrary translation.









⁸ Perhaps 'to report [to me;] this servant [wrote] because of it', restoring *n-i hwb-n* at the end of l. 4. But so abrupt a change from the 1st to the 3rd person is unlikely.

⁹ For  of 'sending' letters cf. *Kah. Pap.* 30, 1; 32, 1; Gardiner & Sethe, *Egn. Letters to the Dead*, pl. 6, 1.

¹⁰ I.e. 'as an inter-fortress communication', in Smither's happy paraphrase.

¹¹ At first sight it might appear necessary to take  as relative form 'which he brought', the more so since the perf. pass. participle immediately following is written ; similarly, but masc., below, 4, 6; fem. again 3, 7. Considerations of sense, however, compel us to render 'which was brought to him' perf. pass. participle + dative, since there is urgent need for mention of the recipient, and with the translation 'which he brought' there would be a strange and inexplicable insistence on the courier, who is unlikely to have been a person of any importance. As regards  as equivalent of  all that can be said is that this seems to be evidence of a tendency to omit *y* in the ending when a dative followed. For *ini* of 'bringing' letters cf. *Kah. Pap.* 29, 28; 31, 29.

¹² It is difficult to find a translation for *imy-r šnt*.

¹³ Smither thought that this might be the reading of the faint traces on the photograph; the last sign is certainly  as in 3, 7. 12. 13, and the preceding group may well be  (cf.  in 4, 10,  in 1, 9), but the traces before this do not much resemble the  of e.g. 3, 10. 11. 14. For *Tkn*, written    in both the Ramesseum Onomasticon and the smaller Semnah Stela at Berlin, see Gardiner in *JEA* III, 189 f.; he identifies it with either Mirgissah or Dabnarti, but Reisner, in *Harv. Afr. Stud.* VII, 549, with Ḥalfah West, south fort.

¹⁴ For *š-k* 'your scribe' as a periphrasis for the recipient of a letter see Smither in *JEA* XXVIII, 18 (note c), also Scharff in *ZÄS* LIX, 33 (top).

¹⁵ See n. 3 above.

..... four¹ (12) saying, 'We found them on the south of the desert-edge,² below the inscription of Shōmu,³ (13) likewise three women (??)⁴—so said they. Then I questioned these Medjay-people, saying, (14) 'Whence have you come?' Then they said, 'We have come from the Well of Yebheyet⁵

[Page 3, see pls. IV, IVa]

..... (x+1) the (2) month 4 of Prōyet, day . . . , came to report [to] he said regarding . . . (3) I went upon (or from?) the [track?] explained(?) . . . the . . . brought him . . . (4) the patrol(?).⁶ Then I came ' [—so said he?]. I wrote about them⁷ (5) to the fortresses to the North.⁸

[All the affairs of the King's] Domain, l.p.h., are safe and sound; (6) all the affairs of your scribe, [l.p.h., are safe and sound]. May the hearing of your scribe, l.[p.] h., be good!

[Despatch No. 4, from an officer in Kheseḫ-Medja'ew]

(7) ANOTHER LETTER WHICH WAS BROUGHT TO HIM FROM THE RETAINER AMENY, WHO IS IN (THE FORTRESS) KHESEḫ-MEDJA'EW,⁹ AS ONE FORTRESS SENDING TO ANOTHER FORTRESS.

(8) It is a communication to the Master, l.p.h., about the fact that

the guardsman of Hierakonpolis(?),¹⁰ Senēw's son Herew's son Reniyokre, and

(9) the guardsman of Tjebew,¹¹ Rensi's son Senwosret's son ditto,¹²

¹ Although the signs at the end of this line are undamaged, and clear on the photograph, it has not been possible to do more than guess at some of them. Similar and equally obscure groups occur at the ends of 3, 11; 4, 7. The numeral 4 indicates that some kind of people is mentioned. The sign before '4' resembles that transcribed 𓂏 in *Kah. Pap.* 9, 20. 21. 29; 10, 16. 17. 20; 13, 17. 18.

² The same writing of rd (also 3, 13; 4, 4 below) in *Sin. R.* 34.

³ The reading can hardly be questioned; some prominent inscription or relief serving as a landmark seems to be referred to, but why should it be given the name of a season? Smither suggested that the 𓂏 of *Wb.* III, 342 (9-12) might be connected.

⁴ The transcription 𓂏 is a mere guess, the less likely since the sign is scarcely found as an ideogram in the M.K. The reading *mitt* is hardly in doubt.

⁵ The O.K. 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 ; see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, 64. Its position is unknown, but might be localized if the stone composing the at present inaccessible sarcophagus of Merenrē, which Weney tells us he obtained from 'Ibhut, were identified with certainty. The references to the place on the stela of Merymose, *temp.* Amenophis III, from Semnah (*Hierogl. Texts BM* VIII, pl. 20, ll. 3. 8. 10), show it to have been a Nubian province of some size.

⁶ The word 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 , which occurs also in 3, 12 and probably 4, 2 below, seems, like the verb 𓂏 3, 13, from which it is evidently derived, to be unknown outside this papyrus. The two words strongly remind one of 𓂏 *phr* 'to pass through', 'patrol', and its derivative 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 , pl. 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 , of persons travelling in the desert, Leps., *Dkm.* III, 140, b, 5, of persons sent forth by the Vizier, perhaps on business of the *pr nsw*, *Urk.* IV, 1112, 6; also 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 etc., 'the troops stationed at a frontier fortress', Gardiner, *Notes on . . . Sinuhe*, 91; but 𓂏 is not a possible reading of the sign used here, which, as noted on the transcription, is identical with 𓂏 as written in this papyrus. The reading, and therefore the phonetic value, are quite uncertain.

⁷ Cf. 2, 5.

⁸ *Scil.* of Semnah; lit., 'the northern fortresses'.

⁹ On this fortress, mentioned also in l. 13 below, see Gardiner in *JEA* III, 190, who places it between Wādy Ḥalfah and 'Anibah; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* IV, 187; Reisner, *Harv. Afr. Stud.* VI, 549. Note that the name is written here with the country, not its inhabitants. It is probable that such fortress-names as *Hsf-Md(y)w*, *Hsf-Iwntyw*, *Wcf-hyswt*, *Dr-Wtyw* (?), originally contained their founders' names, e.g. 'Sesostris-is-one-who-repels-the-Medjay-folk', cf. Sethe, *Urk. d. 18. Dyn., Deutsch*, p. 92, nn. 1, 3.

¹⁰ The sign does not quite resemble the indubitable *Nhn* in 5, 11.

¹¹ Almost certainly Kāw el-Kabīr, see *JEA* XXVII, 44-5.

¹² Cf. *Kah. Pap.* 11, 25; 14, 3. 53; 15, 15.

(10) came to report to this servant in year 3, month 4 of Prōyet, day 2, at the time of breakfast,¹ (11) on business of the citizen, Khewsobk's son Mentuhotpe's son Khewsobk,² (12) who represented the Beneficiary of the Ruler's Table³ in the troop⁴ of Meḥa,⁵ saying, 'The patrol(?)⁶ who went forth (13) to patrol(?)⁶ the desert-edge the fortress Khesef-Medja'ew in year 3, month 3 of Prōyet, last day, (14) have come to report to me, saying, 'We have found the track of 32 men⁷ and three asses, (which?) they have trodden⁸

[Page 4, see pls. V, VA]

. (x+1) (traces) (2) . . . the patrol(?) . . . my places'—so said(?) [he?] (3) . . . order(?) of the troop (4) on the desert-edge. This servant wrote [about it to] [as one fortress sending to another] (5) fortress.




It is a communication [about] it. [All the affairs of the King's Domain(?),] l.p.h., are safe [and sound].⁹

[Despatch No. 5, from Elephantine]

(6) COPY OF A DOCUMENT WHICH WAS BROUGHT TO HIM,¹⁰ BEING ONE BROUGHT FROM THE FORTRESS¹¹ [OF] ELEPHANTINE, AS ONE FORTRESS SENDING TO ANOTHER FORTRESS.

(7) Be informed,¹² if you please,¹³ of the fact that two Medjay-men, three Medjay-women, and two . . . (8) came down from the desert in year 3, month 3 of Prōyet, day 27; they said, 'We have come to serve (9) the Great House, l.p.h.' A question was put¹⁴ regarding the condition of the desert. Then they said, 'We have heard nothing at all; (10) (but) the desert is dying of hunger'—so said they. Then this servant caused that (they) be dismissed to their desert (11) on this day. Then one of these Medjay-women said, 'O let me be given (12) my Medjay-man in this(?) . . .'.¹⁵ Then that Medjay-man [said], 'Does one who trades bring himself?'(?)¹⁶

¹ *Yrw*, not *irw-r*; so also *Kah. Pap.*, pl. 5, 34 with p. 107.

² This third of a line has defied interpretation.  is plausible but by no means certain (contrast  for *iry*, 1, 9). After this a group which seems to occur also at the end of 2, 11. The final sign somewhat resembles  in 2, 14.

³ The reading of this word (*tt*) is hardly in doubt.

⁴ See p. 6, n. 1 above.

⁵ Believed to be either Abu Simbel or near it; see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 17. 56 (add Weigall, *Report on . . . Lower Nubia*, 137, 142).

⁶ See p. 8, n. 6 above.


⁷ For the omission of the stroke in this word see Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, § 23, para. 4.

⁸ It seems impossible to know whether *hnd'n'sn* is *šdm'n'f* form, beginning a new sentence, or perfective relative form qualifying *r*, for which collocation cf. p. 6, n. 2 above, end.

⁹ The conclusion of the full formula, namely *nfr šdm nb* (or *šš'k*) *r. w. s.*, as in 1, 11; 3, 6; 5, 7, cannot have stood here.

¹⁰ For 'which was brought to him', not 'which he brought'; see p. 7, n. 11 above.

¹¹ The gap running down the middle of this page must have been 2-3 mm. wider than is shown in the photograph.

¹² *Swḏs* apparently imperative here, though that would be highly abnormal; or did a , now effaced, stand at the end of the preceding line?

¹³ *Snb-ti nḥ-ti* 'mayest thou be well and alive' seems to be added to reinforce a request; it is found in the 2nd and 3rd persons, cf. *Kah. Pap.* 27, 6; 31, 7; 35, 14. 17; 37, 9. So also, in the 2nd person, as a greeting, with the same seemingly illogical order of the verbs, *lū šalmāta, lū baḥāta*, in letters of the First Dynasty of Babylon, *passim*.

¹⁴ For passive *šdm'n'f* with omission of grammatical subject cf. Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, §§ 422, 1, end, 486. Similarly in *hd-t(w)* for *hd-tw'sn* in the next line.

¹⁵ One thinks of *m it tn* 'at once' (cf. *Urk.* II, 141, 1, and *m it it*, *Wb.* I, 1 (17), with *Kah. Pap.* 11, 19), but this does not seem a possible reading.

¹⁶ Quite obscure in the absence of the words which followed. Perhaps 'it is he who has brought himself who trades . . .', whatever that might mean.

[Despatch No. 6, from near Semnah]

[Page 5, see pls. VI, VIIA]

..... (x+1, 2) (illegible signs)

(3) [It is a communication to the Master,] l.p.h., [about the fact that] the first (or chief?) [of the] reported (4) in [year 3, month 4¹ of] Prōyet, day 8, at the time [of] morning, saying, (5) is (or are) going to see me. I found

(6) It is a communication about it. All the affairs of the King's Domain, [l.p.h., are safe and sound]; (7) all the affairs of the Master, l.p.h., are safe and sound. May the hearing of [the Master, l.p.h.,] be good!

(8) AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT² OF THIS LETTER HAS BEEN MADE IN A LETTER WHICH HAS BEEN SENT TO HIM³ ABOUT THE⁴ NUBIANS (9) WHO ARRIVED AT THE FORTRESS '(THE-LATE-)KHA'KAWRĒ'-IS-MIGHTY' IN MONTH 4 OF PRŌYET, DAY 7, AT THE TIME OF EVENING, (10) AND WERE SENT BACK [TO] THE PLACE WHENCE THEY HAD COME IN MONTH 4 OF PRŌYET, DAY 8, AT THE TIME OF MORNING.

(11) COPIED⁵ IN A LETTER WHICH HAS BEEN SENT TO:

THE JUDGE, MOUTH OF HIERACONPOLIS, SIMONTU,⁶ WHO IS [IN YETN]EW?⁷;

(12) THE CITY-ADMINISTRATOR⁸ AMENY, WHO IS IN;

(13) THE HIGH STEWARD SENIMERI, [WHO IS IN]

[Despatch No. 7, from Semnah]

[Page 6, transcription only, pl. VII]

..... (x+1) (traces) (2) . . . came in(?) (3) [at the time] of morning (4) they traded(?). [What they had brought was traded. (They) sailed up-stream to the place whence they had come,] (5) bread and beer having been given to them [like, on this day].⁹

[All the affairs of the King's Domain, l.p.h.,] (6) are safe and sound; [all the affairs of the Master, l.p.h., are safe and sound.] (7) MINAMÛN,¹⁰ THE CITIZEN RENSİ(?)

[Despatch No. 8, from Semnah]

(8) COPY OF A WRITING WHICH HAS BEEN SENT TO¹¹

(9) It is a communication to the Master, l.p.h., about the fact that] (10) in year 3, month 4 of Prōyet, [day . . . , at the time of] (11) What they had brought was traded [in month 4 of Prōyet, (12) day] 7, at the time of ev[ening]¹² (13) This servant has sent

¹ The low day-number fixes the month-number.

² So Smither, citing *Sin.* B 204; perhaps better 'answer', as in *Nu*, spell 86, 4, and so also *Wb.* IV, 128 (17).

³ Or 'which he sent'. The incident mentioned here was reported in 1, 7 ff.

⁴ A numeral perhaps stood here.

⁵ The letter was of interest to three other fortresses, and was therefore circulated among them.

⁶ Doubtless identical with 'the judge, Mouth of Hieraconpolis, Simontju' mentioned in three rock-inscriptions of years 6 and 9 of Ammenemes III at Semnah, see Leps., *Denkm.* II, 139, e, f; *Bull. M.F.A.* (Boston) XXVII, p. 74.

⁷ Of the signs that remain 𐩣𐩢𐩪 seem quite probable; what follows this is obscure, and does not suit *pḏwt*. On the fortress *Itnw pḏwt*, Kummah or Semnat esh-Shark (Semnah East), see Gardiner, *JEA* III, 188; Reisner, *Harv. Afr. Stud.* VI, 549.

⁸ The title *wrtw nḫwt* is not common, and is unknown to *Wb.*; cf., however, Lange-Schäfer, *CCG*, 20136, b; 20378, b, 3.

⁹ See nn. to transcription. As they arrived in the morning, they probably departed on the same day.

¹⁰ The omission of 𐩣𐩢 at the end of this name is (if these groups have been correctly read) curious; for the name in the M.K. see Ranke, *Personennamen*, 151, 15. The name which follows may be either *Rnsi* or (less likely) *Rn(i)-ikr* or *Rn(i)-snb*.

¹¹ Smither notes 'cf. the formula in the Lāhūn day-book', referring probably to Scharff's remark on [*mity n*] sš *hīb r* . . . in *ZAS* LIX, 47.

¹² It seems impossible to read the sign after *hr tr n* as anything but 𐩣𐩢, i.e. the beginning of *mšrw* (for 𐩣, the first sign of *dwt*, see 1, 10; 5, 4. 10; 6, 3), and since it seems unlikely that the traders would have been sent home at the end of the day, one is reluctant to restore the long lacuna with *iw hnt* etc. as in 1, 13.

REGNAL YEARS AND CIVIL CALENDAR IN PHARAONIC EGYPT

By ALAN H. GARDINER

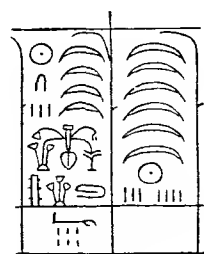
BY way of preparation for further historical studies I have been seeking to enlighten my unmathematical mind as regards the methods employed by the Egyptians for reckoning the reigns of their kings. Since no adequate treatment of the topic exists in English I will attempt to set forth the main results of my investigation. For the greater part of Pharaonic history events were dated partly by consecutively numbered regnal years and partly by reference to the months, seasons, and days of the civil calendar. What, then, is the meaning of such a date as *Year 4, 3rd month of Summer, day 23*? If every king had accommodately died on the last day of the year, so that his successor could have started his reign on the morrow, the answer to my question would be simple; the date quoted would necessarily have signified that the king had completed three years, ten months, and twenty-two days of his reign and had one month and thirteen days more to live before his fourth year came to an end. However, most kings naturally concluded their reigns on dates less conveniently placed in the civil calendar. Hence arose the problem by what method regnal years and civil calendar could best be used in combination, and we shall see that none of the solutions successively put to the test by the Egyptians was wholly satisfactory.

I

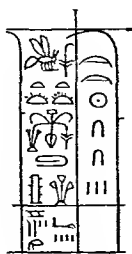
In the earliest dynasties the problem did not arise, since so far as our information goes, the regnal years were then not counted at all. Each year of the civil calendar included some event of sufficient moment to be considered characteristic of it, and that event gave the year a special name by which it was known and remembered. Certain tablets and vases of the earliest dynasties illustrate this state of affairs, but our main authority is the so-called Palermo Stone, the celebrated Fifth Dynasty fragment of early annals preserved in the Museum of the Sicilian capital. This tabular record shows a large number of year-compartments each signalized as such by the symbol for year { forming its right-hand boundary; a comprehensive heading gives the name of the reigning king, but in place of a numbering of the regnal years we find hieroglyphs describing some outstanding occurrence, or in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties a whole series of such occurrences. Four entries in the said lamentably damaged document exhibit the transition from one reign to another, and since they all differ somewhat in form and content (see Fig. 1) there has been much dispute about their interpretation. There can, however, be no doubt that in 1917 Borchardt produced the right conclusions.¹ Relegating my remarks on the other three to a footnote, I will here deal only with *c* in the figure, which indeed provides the clue to the rest. In *c* is recorded

¹ L. Borchardt, *Die Annalen und die zeitliche Festlegung des alten Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte*, Berlin, 1917, pp. 1 ff.

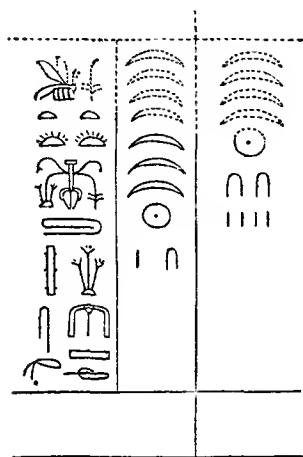
the end of the reign of a king whose name is lost, and the beginning of the reign of King Shepseskaf, one of the last kings of the Fourth Dynasty. Both stretches of time are



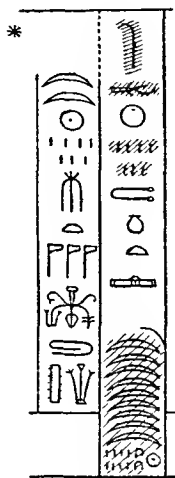
a (rt 1, Nos 2.3)



b (rt 5, Nos. 7 8)



c (us. 1; Nos 1.2)



d (us. 1, Nos. 1-3)

* Here begin the name & titles of King Neferirkarê.

FIG. 1¹

comprised within a single year-compartment, a vertical line indicating the change of reign. To the right of this line we read—Borchardt's restorations are guaranteed by the space available—4 months, 24 days; to the left is written 7 months, 11 days. These two stretches of time together make exactly one year, for the Egyptian civil year consisted of 12 months of 30 days, *plus* 5 'added' or 'epagomenal days'. The entry thus declares that the civil year in question belonged to the unnamed king as to its earlier 4 m. 24 d., and to Shepseskaf as to its later 7 m. 11 d. Further hieroglyphs to the left name this year *Rising of the King of Upper Egypt, Rising of the King of Lower Egypt, Union of the Two Lands, etc.*, a name for the accession year of any Old Kingdom reign which is confirmed, not only by *a*, *b* and *d* in Fig. 1, but also by several monumental inscriptions.²

H. Schäfer, to whom we owe the standard edition of the Palermo Stone,³ was the first to point out that its years were named and not numbered; he quoted as a parallel the Babylonian name of the second year of the third king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, to

¹ Most earlier interpretations, including those of E. Meyer and Sethe, whilst regarding the figures belonging to the old reign as indicating a space of time, understood those connected with the new reign as a *date*. Apart from other objections, it would be contrary to all Egyptian practice to have expressed the 11th day of the 7th month (see *c* in the figure) otherwise than as *month 3 of Winter, day 11*. The two scholars above mentioned were misled by *a*, where the two stretches of time do not add up to a year, as Borchardt subsequently showed to be the case for *c* and *d*. In *a* the two spaces of time are in different year-compartments; Borchardt hesitatingly suggests that there was a rulerless interregnum after the first 6 m. 7 d. of the year in which the old king died until before the last 4 m. 13 d. of the following year, a space of 13 m. 20 d. Entry *b* can be understood in the same way as *c*, only the second set of figures has been suppressed, probably for lack of room; this second set is really quite unnecessary, since the space of time in question can at once be ascertained by subtracting the first set from 1 year. Entry *d* is very difficult to see owing to the worn condition of the stone at this point; however, there is good reason to accept Borchardt's readings of 9 m. 28 d. and 2 m. 7 d. respectively, again adding up to exactly one year; Sethe accepted these figures *Urk.* 1, 246. In *d* the year-compartment with the figures for the last year of Sahurê have been crowded in at the bottom of the year-compartment of the penultimate year, which was called (see below) *the year after the 7th occasion of the count*.

² *Urk.* 1, 10 (twice); 299; 307; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1930-1931*, pl. opp. p. 190; in all five cases in the short form { } = *year of the Union of the Two Lands*. Sethe has, moreover, recognized (*Urk.* 1, 111) that the scene with King Merenrê standing on { } accompanying his inscription on the Aswân-Philae road must be a graphic way of dating the text in his yr. 1.

³ *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, in *Abh. Berlin*, 1902. The later discovered similar fragments, now

containing the seventh and eighth counts; in the circumstances it is impossible to calculate how many years Snofru had already occupied the throne. This, from the historian's point of view, retrograde step was corrected shortly afterwards, exactly in which reign it is hard to say. Under Userkaf, the first king of the Fifth Dynasty, we learn that the count—it was *the third occasion* (P.S. *vs.* 2, 2)—was a *count of oxen* ($\overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}}$), as it appears to have been ever afterwards (see below), and in the reign of Sahurē (P.S. *vs.* 3, 1) the fact that the count was biennial is marked by the year following it being called $\{\overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}}\} = \text{the year after the second occasion of the count}$, i.e. the fifth year of the reign, cf. also P.S. *vs.* 4, 1 *the year after the seventh occasion of the count*, i.e. the fifteenth year.

The chronological system revealed by the Palermo Stone was subjected to a thorough examination by Kurt Sethe in 1905.¹ He also collected a vast mass of illustrative material from other monuments, and this enabled him to show that the method of numbering regnal years employed until far down into the Roman period was developed out of this dating by the years of a count of cattle and those *after* such a count. Sethe's brilliant essay proved that the hieroglyphic group $\{\text{O}\}$ or $\{\overline{\text{O}}\}$ regularly used to introduce numbered regnal years did not represent the common word for year $\{\overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}}\}$, Coptic $\rho\alpha\alpha\eta\epsilon$, as had previously been supposed, but was to be read *hst-zp*, literally *Front* ($\overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}}$) of the occasion ($\overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}}$), after which followed a numeral with ordinal meaning, cf. Coptic $\beta\alpha\epsilon\phi\sigma\gamma\iota$ 'first year', once only, Dan. i. 21.² Most scholars had taken the O in $\{\overline{\text{O}}\}$ to be the sun O , which in later periods served as a generic determinative of time; Sethe demonstrated through his large collection of instances that this O was really the sign for a threshing-floor O , the principal sign in the word $\overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}}$ 'occasion'. The occasion in question was, of course, that of the above-mentioned count of cattle, which at some historic moment not easy to determine had become a yearly, not a biennial, event—so at least according to Sethe. Thus $\{\overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}}\} \text{ } \text{hst-zp} \text{ } 20$ ceased to mean *Front of the 20th occasion* of the cattle-count, and became the normal expression for *year 20* of a given reign. Much still remains obscure concerning the details of the development, but the general lines are beyond dispute. The last four decades have added a good deal more material, but without substantially modifying Sethe's deductions. A particularly interesting example of dating was discovered only in 1927 by Reisner in the tomb at Gīzah of the king's daughter Meresōnekh (III), the niece of Chephren's wife; here we are told (*Bull. MFA* [Boston], xxv, 77, Fig. 18 = *Urk.* I, 156 f.) that 'her spirit went to rest', i.e. she died, on $\{\overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}}\} = \text{the 21st day of the first month of Summer in the year of the first occasion}$, i.e. year 2;³ another inscription on the opposite side of the doorway informs us that she was taken to her beautiful tomb on $\{\overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}}\} = \text{the 17th day of the second month of Winter in the year after the}$

¹ *Die Entwicklung der Jahresdatierung bei den alten Ägyptern*, in *Untersuchungen* III (Leipzig, 1905), particularly 71 ff.

² Neither Brugsch, who first called attention to this Coptic expression, nor Sethe, who utilized it so brilliantly, alluded to the use of cn- in Ša'idic and Fayyūmic for 'year' in the dating of documents, see Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 349a.

³ Not year 1 as Reisner stated in his report. For the way in which year 1 was expressed at this period see above, p. 12, n. 2.

first occasion, i.e. year 3. There is no other monument of the Old Kingdom, so far as I am aware, on which dated events belonging to two consecutive years are recorded. Another interesting point about these two lines of inscription is that they attest the omission of the word $\overline{\text{count}}$ 'count' at a moment earlier than that of any of the texts quoted by Sethe, for we must suppose that the burial of the princess Meres'ōnekh took place before the close of the Fourth Dynasty.¹ Hence it would seem that already before the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty $\{\circ$ meant any even regnal year, and $\{\overline{\circ}$ any odd regnal year except the first, and that these expressions would have continued to have the same meaning even if for some reason no actual count of cattle had taken place. We do not know when, or even if ever, these counts were discontinued, but it is certain that the custom persisted into the reign of Phiops II well on in the Sixth Dynasty, since we then find the fullest of all additions to the dating formula; this reads $\{\circ||\overline{\text{count}}\text{ of oxen} - \{\overline{\circ}\text{ of small cattle of Lower and Upper Egypt}$.² *Front (i.e. year) of the second occasion of the count of oxen and of all small cattle of Lower and Upper Egypt.*² For our purpose all that needs to be noted is that $\{\circ$ was by this time well on the way towards becoming a term for 'regnal year' apart from any event characterizing it.

This evolution was finally achieved only when the count of cattle either became annual instead of biennial or else dropped out altogether, so that $\{\circ$ could be used for the odd regnal years as well as for the even ones. I submit the latter possibility, not envisaged by Sethe, since we have no positive testimony that the count of cattle ever took place annually. Sethe³ considered that the celebrated inscription of Weni bears witness to such a counting in two consecutive years at a date early in the reign of Merenrē. I believe this interpretation to be mistaken. The passage runs:⁴ $\{\circ||\overline{\text{count}}\text{ of oxen} - \{\overline{\circ}\text{ of small cattle of Lower and Upper Egypt}$. *I reckoned all things that are reckoned unto (i.e. declared payable to) the Residence in this (land of) Upper Egypt twice (over), and all services that are reckoned unto the Residence in this (land of) Upper Egypt twice (over)*; in my view Weni probably intended to say that he squeezed out of the unfortunate inhabitants of Upper Egypt twice as much in the way of taxes and work as his predecessors. Sethe's other arguments in favour of an annual count under Merenrē are likewise unconvincing, and since his memoir was published there have come to light several inscriptions of Phiops II where a year *after* the *x*th occasion is mentioned, where accordingly the count, real or fictitious, was still biennial. Seeing that Manetho gives Phiops II a reign of 93 years and that more than 90 are accorded to him by the Turin Canon of Kings, there is no difficulty in accounting for the datings we now possess from the years *after* the 11th,⁵ the 22nd,⁶ and the 31st⁷ occasion, as well as one *of* the 14th⁸ occasion; these datings doubtless refer to the 23rd, the 45th, the 63rd, and the 28th regnal years respectively. On the other hand, it seems impossible

¹ Maystre has quoted (*Bull. inst. fr. XXXV*, 89 ff.) a number of masons' datings on blocks in the two pyramids of Snofru which similarly omit the word for 'count'. These graffiti require further consideration.

² Gardiner & Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, Pt. I, pl. 9, no. 17 = *Urk.* I, 112.

³ Sethe, op. cit. 85 ff.











⁴ Weni, I. 36 = *Urk.* I, 106.

⁵ *Urk.* I, 280, 14.

⁶ Op. cit. I, 284, 4. The signs are damaged and are quoted by Sethe from Gunn's collation.

⁷ Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, pl. 12, Gr. 7. Possibly pl. 13, Gr. 9 dated in the year of the 31st occasion may also belong to this reign.

⁸ Op. cit., pl. 10, Gr. 3.

to cope with a dating in the year of the 50th occasion,¹ for surely no one will be ready to accept the existence of a 100th regnal year, and we seem precluded by the already mentioned datings with *after* from interpreting this monument as belonging to the 50th regnal year. Two ways out of the dilemma are conceivable, but neither can be regarded as certain: the one is that in this reign a system of dating by annual occasions coexisted with one by biennial occasions; the other is to regard the figure 50 as a mistake due to either the ancient sculptor or the modern copyist.² With Phiops II the datings with  *ht* or  *m-ht* 'after' come to an end, and we have henceforth no ground for interpreting writings like {   } otherwise than at their face value, i.e. than as *year 42* and *year 33*. An unpublished inscription of Tuthmosis III at Karnak³ is dated in {   }, literally *Regnal year after 23*, but this can only be an artificial device for referring to year 24 invented by a scribe who knew something about Old Kingdom habits, but not enough to imitate them quite correctly.

II

Apart from the Palermo Stone we have only one scrap of evidence (see below, p. 21) to prove definitely that the kings of the earlier periods commenced their regnal years with New Year's Day of the civil calendar, day 1 of the first month of the Inundation season. Indeed, from the Sixth Dynasty onward our information becomes so scanty that it will be advisable now to make a great jump forward to Saite times and later. This seems the more advisable since we have definite grounds for thinking that the mode of calculating regnal years then employed was an archaistic revival, which may or may not have been an exact replica of Middle Kingdom custom.⁴ For the Greek papyri of Ptolemaic and Roman times Wilcken⁵ gives as the rule that the New Year's Day following the accession to the throne was counted as the beginning of the *second* year of the new king. He tells us, however, that after the time of Philopator there existed side by side with these regnal years a financial year of a different character. Since the facts belonging to the Ptolemaic and Roman ages lie beyond my ken, as well as beyond the scope of the present essay, I applied to Dr. Milne for an opinion, and he kindly allows me to quote his answer:

The question of regnal years of the Ptolemies is very vexed, and the conclusion I drew from Edgar's papers was that the dating was fluid: it seems to me that there were two or three systems in vogue, and you get the same sort of confusion in Ptolemaic documents as you do in English medieval documents, where civil and ecclesiastical and regnal years are all used. Under the Romans things got more into order, and there is no doubt that Wilcken's account is correct. The first year of an emperor consisted of a fraction of a year only, from the day of his elevation to the end of the Mesore⁶ following: his last year would also be a fraction only, from 1st Thoth to the day when he faded out. There are instances where an emperor—Hadrian for example—succeeded in August and had only

¹ *Urk.* I, 277, 9 = Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. A.

² In the last-named publication the final *n* is hatched, and may conceivably therefore be misread out of *11*, which would yield the 84th year.

³ Photographs of this long and important, but very fragmentary, inscription were given to me by Legrain many years ago.

⁴ Not of Old Kingdom custom, since years *after* the *x*th occasion were not used under the Saïtes.

⁵ *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, I, 1, p. lvii.

⁶ Last month of the year, followed by Thoth in the New Year.

a few days in his first year, with the result that no documents or coins dated $\mathfrak{L}^{\mathfrak{A}}$ of Hadrian are known: and in the course of the year beginning on 1st Thoth A.D. 68 you get datings of 2 Galba, 1 Otho, 1 Vitellius, and 1 Vespasian. These datings are, of course, purely for Egyptian use, and the unlucky officials of the nomes frequently got muddled over them—no wonder!

It thus appears that a Roman emperor might have had documents dated in his second year and yet have reigned in all only a fortnight, a week before New Year's Day and a week after. On the other hand, if he had ascended the throne in the early days of Thoth in his first year and had died on the last day of Mesore in his second, with the same dating of his documents he would have occupied the throne for very nearly two years. A system of regnal years which admitted so great a latitude in interpretation can hardly be called satisfactory; none the less we shall see that it was this system and no other which was used during the great renaissance of the Twenty-sixth Saite Dynasty (664 or 663 to 525 B.C.).

The material for the chronology of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is very full and decisive, and has, on the whole, been satisfactorily set forth and utilized from that angle by Petrie,¹ Borchardt,² and Vandier.³ It is less easy, however, to extract thence a formal proof that the Egyptians of the period employed the same system of reckoning regnal years as the early Ptolemies and the Roman emperors. None the less the attempt shall be made, and I take as my point of departure the statements made on a stela from the Serapeum concerning the Apis bull which died in the reign of Necho II, yr. 16, m. ii, d. 6.⁴ The date of birth is given as Psammetichus I, yr. 53, m. vi, d. 19, and the length of the bull's life as 16 yrs., 7 ms., 17 ds. From these data it is deduced that Psamm. I reigned 53 years and 12 months, or 54 years exactly on the very reasonable, indeed certain, assumption that the scribe overlooked the 5 epagomenal days. From a series of other stelae it is similarly deduced that all the remaining kings of the dynasty except Amasis, for whom no material of the kind is available, reigned an exact number of years or alternatively that the sum of several reigns amounted to an exact number of years, with no odd surplus of months and days.⁵ The deduction is perfectly sound, but yields a result which cannot have corresponded to the actual facts. Let us see how the figures have been obtained.

The argument is conducted in some such way as follows.⁶ Life in Necho II's reign

¹ *History of Egypt*, III³, p. 339. However, on p. 325 Petrie wrongly assigns 16 years instead of 15 to Necho II, and 5 years instead of 6 to Psammetichus II; this is because he overlooked the stela dealt with below in the text to p. 19, n. 1.

² *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte* (Cairo, 1935), 64 f. The years of the dynasty are all rightly determined except those for Psammetichus III, for which see n. 3 below.

³ *Les Peuples de l'Orient méditerranéen; II, l'Égypte* (in the series *Clio*), 592 f. Vandier makes the slight error (see below, p. 20) of not allowing 1 yr. to Psammetichus III.

⁴ Dyn. XXVI, Apis III, according to the nomenclature of Porter & Moss, *Bibliography*, III, 211, where a list of the publications will be found.

⁵ That Necho II, Psammetichus II, and Apries together reigned exactly 40 years is deduced from each of three sources, namely *a*, Leyden stelae V 18 & 19 = Boeser, *Beschreibung*, VII, pl. 15, Nos. 14, 15; see, too, since the text is now rather illegible, Leemans, *Lettre à M. François Salvolini*, pl. 25; *b*, Florence stela 2551 = Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 152 = Schiaparelli, *Cat. gen.* I, 376, No. 1640; *c*, a Cairo stela quoted Petrie, loc. cit., but still unpublished.

⁶ Careful readers of the present article will find that the similar computation in Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* IV, § 1026 is expressed in a manner which leaves much to be desired.

15 yrs., 1 m., 5 ds.; deducting this from the age of the bull at death we find it lived 1 yr., 6 ms., 12 ds. under Psammetichus I, Necho II's predecessor. But the date of birth seems to say that Psamm. I had reigned 52 yrs., 5 ms., and 18 ds. before the Apis was born. Adding to this the 1 yr., 6 ms., 12 ds. lived in the same reign, we obtain for Psamm. I a length of reign of 54 years exactly, if we admit that the 5 epagomenal dates have fallen by the wayside. Now in this argument there are two assumptions which will prove unjustified in actual fact. When it is said that the Apis was born in Psamm. I, yr. 53, m. vi, d. 19 and died in Necho II, yr. 16, m. ii, d. 6, it is assumed that all the regnal years here in question were of the equal length of 365 days, and when it is argued that Psamm. I had reigned 52 yrs., 5 ms., 18 ds. before the Apis was born and Necho II 15 yrs., 1 m., 5 ds. before it died, it is assumed that both Psamm. I and Necho II ascended the throne on New Year's Day of the civil calendar. But this is extremely unlikely, and the unlikelihood is greatly increased when, on the basis of other documents, the latter assumption has to be extended to other kings as well. We do not know the actual accession days of either Psamm. I or Necho II, but in order to test this matter further let us suppose that Psamm. I ascended the throne on m. vi, d. 10, and Necho II on m. xii, d. 4—dates as likely as any others if, as doubtless normally was the case, the accession day followed immediately upon the death of the old monarch. If regnal year 1 started on the accession day and continued until the beginning of year 2 on the corresponding date in the next civil year, our Apis would have lived 15 yrs., 2 ms., 7 ds. under Necho II¹ and consequently 1 yr., 5 ms., 10 ds. under Psamm. I. Since Psamm. I had already reigned (on our new supposition) 52 yrs., 0 ms., 9 ds. before the birth of the bull, the total length of his reign will have been 53 yrs., 5 ms., 19 ds., not an exact number of years at all. An exact number of years could have resulted only if the accession days of Psamm. I and of Necho II had fallen on the same date in the civil calendar, and any other date for both accession days is every bit as unlikely as New Year's Day.

How comes it, then, that Egyptologists, faithfully following the indications of the ancient scribes, always arrive at an exact number of years, with no ragged remainder of extra months and days, for the length of the Saite reigns? We have seen (pp. 16 f.) that in Ptolemaic and Roman times all regnal years except the first began on New Year's Day of the civil calendar, but that the first regnal year was a short one dating from the day after the death or deposition of the predecessor and ending on the last day of the calendar year; the last year of the reign was likewise short, because the king hardly ever lived it out until the fifth of the epagomenal days. A new king thus shared with his predecessor the civil year in which the first regnal year fell. Now the hieroglyphic scribes habitually disguised the fact that the first regnal year was a short one by employing the group $\{\textcircled{\text{O}}\}$ for it no less than for all the following years. It might seem that they ought to have employed different groups for $\{\textcircled{\text{O}}\}$ year 1 and for $\{\textcircled{\text{O}}\}^{\wedge\wedge}$ year 30, and the same reproach might be addressed to the Greek clerks who similarly used the word *ἔτους* or the symbol L. However, such a pedantic criticism would not have appealed

¹ Fifteen complete years up to and including the eve of his sixteenth accession day + 27 days in the last month of that civil year + the 5 epagomenal days + 1 m. 5 ds. in the civil year in which the Apis died.

to the parties in question; their object in using these words or signs was simply to assign to some occurrence its place in the reign of a particular ruler; in most cases it would not have mattered greatly if all the years had been of different length; the only thing of importance was that they should be numbered in orderly consecutive fashion. Accordingly these ancients referred to year 1 *as though* it were prolonged back to the New Year's Day of the last year of the predecessor, each king annexing and adding to his first year the odd months and days that in reality had belonged to the king he succeeded. Since each regnal year, now including the first, extends from New Year's Day to New Year's Day, it is inevitable that Egyptologists should find the reigns thus reckoned consisting always of an exact number of years, and since in any chronological calculation every civil year is fully accounted for, the fiction underlying the calculation does no harm at all. Harm is done, indeed, only when the true length of any reign is in debate; to ascertain such length it is necessary to know the precise dates of accession and demise. The ancient scribe probably found the fiction in question a positive help in determining the length of life of a man or a sacred animal, for if the dates of birth and death were given, together with the number of the last year of every predecessor of the reigning king who was involved, he had in his possession all the factors that were needed; it was unnecessary for him to know the easily forgotten actual dates of these kings' accessions. Since each king was regarded as taking over the odd months and days of his predecessor, the scribe had to subtract 1 from the highest year-date in each case. That done, it was easy for him to reckon the length of life, this being accomplished along much the same lines as those followed above in determining the supposed length of reign of Psamm. I.

Nevertheless, there is still a possibility which has not been envisaged. Is it so certain that in Pharaonic times it was the designation *year 2* which was given to the civil year following the actual date of accession, and not the designation *year 1*? In other words, may not a king have surrendered to his predecessor the months and days before the first New Year's Day of his actual reign, instead of robbing that predecessor—at least through the habits of his scribes—of the little he possessed of his last year? That these questions are not futile will be seen later from the sole piece of clear Twelfth Dynasty evidence that we possess. Happily we are in a position to prove that the procedure of the Saïtes was the same as that of the Ptolemies and the Romans. Psammetichus II is the only king of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty the precise date of whose death is known. On the stela recording the outstanding events of the career of his daughter 'Ankhnasnefribre' this date is given as *Year 7, 1st month of the Inundation season, day 23*.¹ But what is the meaning of a dating in the 7th year of a Saïte king? On the one hypothesis—that on which the year following the actual date of accession was year 1—it means that the length of reign has exceeded 6 completed years *plus* the span of time elapsing between the accession day and the following New Year's Day. On the other hypothesis—that on which the year following the accession date was year 2—it means that the length of reign has exceeded 5 completed years *plus* the same span. It is clear that a period of 5 years *x* months and *y* days lived before the end of the reign of such a king can never, on the former

¹ *Ann. Serv.* v, 85.

hypothesis, have fallen before the actual beginning of that reign; on the latter hypothesis it is very well possible that it may have done so. Now in connexion with Apis IV of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty we learn¹ that it was born in Necho II, yr. 16, m. ii, d. 7; inducted as incarnate Apis Psamm. II, yr. 1, m. xi, d. 9;² died Apries, yr. 12, m. viii, d. 12 and lived 17 yrs., 6 ms., 5 ds. Subtracting 11 yrs., 7 ms., 11 ds.—this is the length of life under Apries signified by the date of death—from the lifetime of the Apis, we obtain 5 yrs., 10 ms., 24 ds. lived under Apries' predecessor or predecessors. But if (see above) the reign of Psamm. II exceeded 6 entire years, it is evident that the birth of the bull must have fallen within his reign. However, the stela explicitly informs us that the birth occurred under Necho II. Consequently the scribes who dated the death of Psamm. II in yr. 7, m. i, d. 23 were including in the first regnal year of that king an indeterminate amount of time that really belonged to the last regnal year of Necho II. In other words, the civil year that contained all that there was of Necho II's sixteenth and last regnal year also contained all that there was of Psamm. II's first regnal year, and this first regnal year was a short year consisting only of the months and days intervening between the actual accession day and the beginning of *year 2* on the following New Year's Day.³

Having discussed in text and footnotes the length of four of the Saite reigns, it seems opportune to polish off the rest of the dynasty. The highest date recorded for Amasis is *year 44*,⁴ and Herodotus (III, 10) gives him the same number of years; if we accept yr. 44 as the last regnal year we shall count chronologically 43, see above, p. 19. To his successor Psammetichus III the same ancient historian (III, 14) allows only six months, which is the length of reign recorded also by Manetho. The existence of a demotic papyrus dated in yr. 2, m. 5,⁵ as has often been pointed out,⁶ does not contradict the statement of the two historians; only I do not understand why Breasted,⁷ Borchardt,⁸ and Vandier⁹ (though not Petrie¹⁰) depart from the established rule and attribute to Psamm. III 0 yrs. instead of 1 yr. ($2 - 1 = 1$). Adding the total of 138 yrs. ($54 + 15 + 6 + 19 + 43(?) + 1$) to 525 B.C. accepted for Cambyses' conquest of Egypt,¹¹ we obtain 663 B.C. for the accession of Psamm. I, which is the date given by Breasted, Borchardt, Vandier, and E. Meyer,¹² while Petrie, allowing 44 to Amasis (as is perhaps right), reaches 664 B.C.

¹ For the publications see Porter & Moss, *op. cit.*, III, 211 f.

² I.e., as we shall see, 9 ms., 2 ds. after birth. Similarly Apis III was inducted 8 ms., 28 ds. after birth.

³ For chronological purposes we obtain 6 yrs. for Psamm. II and 15 for Necho II. Since these two reigns *plus* the reign of Apries amounted to 40 yrs. (see above, p. 17, n. 5) the number of years to be attributed to Apries is 19. The Manethonian figures as given by Africanus agree as regards Psamm. II and Apries, but allot only 6 yrs. to Necho II. Herodotus (II, 159) is nearer the mark with 16 years for Necho II, is right as regards Psamm. II (II, 161), but gives 25 yrs. to Apries (*ibid.*). On account of this statement some scholars have supposed a co-regency of Apries and Amasis, but the sole piece of evidence which might have lent colour to this hypothesis (rightly rejected by Piehl, *ZÄS* xxviii, 9 ff.) obtained plausibility only from a cartouche wrongly copied by Champollion, but rightly read by Young, see Porter & Moss, *op. cit.*, IV, 72.

⁴ Couyat & Montet, *Inscr. du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, No. 137 = Pl. 33.

⁵ At Strasbourg and published by Spiegelberg. The best authorities consider the attribution to Psamm. III certain; for references see Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, IV, 131.

⁶ E.g., Posener, *Première domination Perse*, 6, n. 1.

⁷ Breasted, *op. cit.* I, § 7. He, like Petrie, wrongly gives 16 yrs. to Necho II and only 5 to Psamm. II.



































⁸ See above, p. 17, n. 2.

⁹ Vandier, *op. cit.*, 602.

¹⁰ Petrie, *op. cit.* III³, 325.

¹¹ Meyer, *Geschichte*, III², 190.

¹² *Op. cit.* III², 82.

For the periods preceding the Eighteenth Dynasty the Turin Canon of Kings deserves more attention than it has received. Sethe¹ was mistaken in affirming that this papyrus 'continually varies the writing { with the more correct { or { in its indications concerning the length of reign of the individual kings'. On the contrary, the formula                               

and he adds, probably rightly, that this can only refer to the day of Sesostri II's death. The *prima facie* view resulting from the above indications is that the first year of the new reign was dated from the New Year's Day *following* the actual accession-day, and consequently that the new king, Sesostri III, was conceding to his predecessor the few months and days from the date of his accession until the following New Year's Day. On this view the dating system of the Middle Kingdom would differ from that of the Saite Dynasty, but would conform to the alternative hypothesis discussed above on pp. 19 f. Had the Saite system been followed, not only would the New Year's Day here recorded have had to be that of year 2, not of year 1, but also all the dates preceding, in so far as they were subsequent to the date of Sesostri II's death,¹ would have been allotted to his successor's year 1.

From this conclusion, however, there is one way of escape, one way in which the Illahūn document can still be brought into unison with the Saite system. The theory it involves is a daring one, but nevertheless we shall see that it serves to explain a fact that must otherwise remain unexplained. What if Sesostri II associated Sesostri III with himself on New Year's Day of his 20th year, and proceeded to die in the course of that same year? Now everything is in order: Sesostri III starts dating his documents from his actual accession on New Year's Day, leaving his predecessor in undisputed possession of the whole of year 19. Borchardt, in placing the death-day of Sesostri II on the 14th day of the 8th month, never asserted that the year was year 19, and this date—if indeed it refers to Sesostri II at all—may equally well have belonged to his year 20. The great advantage of this new theory is that it accounts for the indication of the Turin Canon of Kings, where what we find for Sesostri II is { \odot |||...||| 19 regnal years, [X months, and Y days]. On either hypothesis envisaged on p. 19, the number of regnal years to be assigned is always 1 less than the highest year-date. Unless, therefore, Sesostri II lived on into his 20th year, we ought to find for him in the Canon 18 years, not 19, just as Ammenemes I, the date of whose death we know from the Story of Sinūhe to have been *Year 30, 3rd month of Inundation, day 7*, receives in the Turin papyrus the indication [{ \odot |||...||| [2]9 [regnal years, X months, and Y days].

I believe, therefore, that there is no absolute necessity to assume for the Twelfth Dynasty a system different from that of the Saites, and in view of the conservatism of the Egyptians, it is convenient to be able to dispense with the alternative hypothesis that has been examined. In any case, there is a little more evidence to confirm the fact that regnal years normally changed on New Year's Day. Another Illahūn papyrus likewise published by Borchardt—indeed on the very next page—records deliveries in a number of lunar months the calendar dates of which are stated.² One of these lunar

¹ There is in the papyrus only one date earlier than the presumed day of death, namely one on *4th month of Winter, day 6*. This would, on any view, have to belong to year 19.

² P. Berlin 10056A, *vs.*, see *ZÄS* xxxvii, 92 f. The photograph in my possession shows that even the revised figures for the lunar months given by Borchardt, *ZÄS* Lxx, 99 are not quite correct. Those interested should note that the fourth entry on this page should certainly read: 25. 12.—*Jahr 31, 19. 1. W. = 30 Tage*; consequently the fifth entry—it would have been better if Borchardt had bracketed the alternate months restored by him—should read: [20. 1.—19. 2. W. = 30 Tage]. The total of 355 days for the lunar year remains the same.

months extends from *4th month of Summer, day 25*, in year 30, to *Year 31, 1st month of Inundation, day 19*; a change of regnal year thus occurred between those dates.

III

The testimony which I have succeeded in mustering for the Middle Kingdom is decidedly meagre, but we are better situated in respect of the New Kingdom, to which I now turn. Here the system of regnal years differs so completely from that which both preceded and followed it that my description of the Saite method as an archaistic revival (above, p. 16) is fully justified. The innovation of the Eighteenth Dynasty lay in its reckoning each regnal year from accession day to accession day, no attempt being made to bring regnal and civil year into harmony with one another. The consequence of such procedure was remarkable: if, for example, an accession fell on 25, iii (25th day of the 3rd month of Inundation), then in the reign in question *Year 6, 3rd month of Inundation, day 23* would fall 361 days later than *Year 6, 3rd month of Inundation, day 27*. This paradoxical state of affairs could not fail to be awkward for a scribe seeking to place in proper sequence a series of dated documents, and is equally awkward for the modern historian attempting to reconstruct the events of a given year.¹ It is, accordingly, practically desirable to determine the exact accession days of each separate New Kingdom king, as, after some preliminary remarks, I shall essay to do for the Eighteenth Dynasty, leaving the Nineteenth and Twentieth for a later occasion.

There are two principal ways in which these accession days can be ascertained. Sometimes our texts actually name the date, or inform us of the day when the predecessor died, which appears normally to have amounted to the same thing. There is reason to think that the accession to the throne was announced by proclamation; under Tuthmosis I we have written examples of such an official act,² and at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty³ we find an allusion to it, the same verb 𓂏𓂛𓂏 *sr* being used as was employed for the proclamation of the Sed- or Jubilee festival.⁴ We shall find that the accession day was subsequently celebrated as an annual feast, in the case of specially celebrated or beloved kings even for centuries after their deaths, so that later anniversaries can serve our purpose just as well as the naming of the actual day. Sometimes, however, an accession day has to be deduced from the presence of a year-date unexpectedly inserted in a document recording a whole sequence of dated events. Ostraca and papyri often present us with accounts or diaries in which items were entered, if not on every consecutive day, at least at relatively short intervals. As a general rule, the scribe contents himself with indicating month, season, and day; if, therefore, he suddenly inserts a year-date, we may usually conclude that a new regnal year has been started, and this, in the case of a journal naming every consecutive day, gives us the precise date of the accession, while in less favourable circumstances we obtain two limits between which that event must have fallen. There are pitfalls in connexion with both methods of discovering accession days above outlined, as will be














¹ This will be shown in a subsequent article in connexion with Ramesses II.

² See below, p. 25, n. 11.

³ *JEA* xxvi, pl. 5a, 2.

⁴ *Wb.* iv, 190, 4; ex. Mond & Myers, *Temples of Armant*, pl. 93, 1.

amply illustrated in the notes below. Here it suffices to dwell on the doubts that may arise from the word which the Egyptians employed to refer to a royal accession.

That word is the abstract noun  *hꜣw*, meaning literally a 'rising in glory', a metaphor taken from the sun. On the Palermo Stone we have already encountered  *hꜣ(w) nꜣswt* 'Rising of the King (of Upper Egypt)' prefixed to the other words giving the name of the first regnal year.¹ In the Eighteenth Dynasty are found fuller designations like    *hb n hꜣw* 'Festival of Arising',²   *hb hꜣw nsw* 'Festival of the King's Arising',³ while Ramesside writers prefer shorter styles like    *hꜣ Wsrꜣꜣtrꜣ-stꜣpnꜣrꜣ* 'Arising of Usimaꜣrꜣ-setpenꜣrꜣ' or    *hꜣy nsw* 'Imnꜣhꜣp' 'Arising of King Amenophis'. Borchardt, who produced a highly uncritical, but nevertheless by no means useless, list of accession days,⁴ unfortunately referred to them as Coronation Days (*Krönungstage*). This is a complete misnomer, since it is clear that, apart from exceptional cases such as a co-regency or an interregnum—we should be hard put to it to quote certain examples—the 'King's Arising' followed immediately on the death of the predecessor, as it did in the earlier and later methods of regnal dating.⁵ The whole subject of the royal coronation needs careful reinvestigation and above all more and clearer evidence; here all that need be said is that a coronation ceremony would necessarily require much time for its preparation, and could not possibly take place on the morrow of a king's death. If we must paraphrase the Egyptian expression 'King's Arising' at all, the proper paraphrase can only be 'accession day'.

Unfortunately the verb *hꜣ* has a wider use, being employed also of any formal appearance of the king or of a god;⁶ so wide indeed did the meaning become that the noun *hꜣy* in its Coptic descendant ^ⲥⲱⲁ ^Ⲕⲱⲁⲓ, becomes the commonest and most general word for 'festival'. This ambiguity may mislead us into interpreting as accessional dates datings that are nothing of the kind. It must here suffice to refer the reader to my remarks below under the headings of Amenophis I, Tuthmosis II, and Amenophis III.

Perhaps the first scholar expressly to enunciate the nature of the New Kingdom system of regnal dating was Daressy,⁷ though others had undoubtedly been subconsciously aware of it before him. To Daressy's evidence I added a little in 1918⁸ and Sethe a good deal more in 1923.⁹ Since then many new contributions to the topic have been made, particularly by Peet and Černý. The work of the latter scholars has, however, centred around the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, consideration of which I must defer for a later article.

¹ See above p. 12; also *Wb.* III, 241, 15.

² *Urk.* IV, 81.

³ *Op. cit.* IV, 648; cf. also *op. cit.* IV, 177. Another example, where, however, the infinitive *hꜣt* replaces the abstract *hꜣw*, see below under Amenophis II.

⁴ *Mittel*, 68 ff. In this work is unfolded the theory that *hꜣt* 'Arising' (infinitive) signified the ceremony by which the king was introduced into his high office, and that this always took place on the day of the full moon; see p. 21, n. 4 above.

⁵ The best example, probably, is the accession of Ramesses IV, which, as we shall see in a later article, occurred on the same day that his father Ramesses III died.

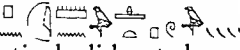
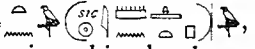

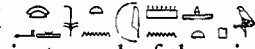
⁶ *Wb.* III, 239 ff.

⁷ *Rec. trav.* XXXIV (1912), 52.

⁸ *JEA* V, 190 f.

⁹ *ZÄS* LVIII, 39 ff.


Eighteenth Dynasty. AMENOPHIS I: 29-30, i. or 11-13, xi.

At the outset we are confronted by puzzling alternative dates. As is well known, Amenophis I became in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties the tutelary deity of the Theban Necropolis,¹ and there is nothing surprising in the fact that festivals in his honour took place on widely separated occasions throughout the calendar year.² Undoubtedly the greatest of all these festivals was that which gave its name to what in late times was the seventh month, the hieratic  *Pn-Imnhtp*, Gk. *Φαμενωθ*, Copt. *παμενωθ*.³ It being certain that such festivals did not always fall at the beginning of the months named after them, there is nothing to prevent our identifying this one with that occupying four days round about 29, vii, and called *the Great Festival* (p3 hb 3) of King *Amenophis, the lord of the Town*; during these days, as the ostrakon which records them⁴ tells us, there was much drinking, in which the workmen's wives and children participated along with themselves. Perhaps it was the king's marriage that was thus commemorated, since a Turin papyrus⁵ assigns to 15, vii , which may well mean *the spreading (of the bed) for King Amenophis*; but, as against this, the determinative  perhaps suggests rather an impending funeral, and it is a curious coincidence that the successor of Amenophis I, namely Tuthmosis I, dated his succession, as we shall see, on 21, vii. There was another, doubtless smaller, *Festival* (hb) of King *Amenophis* on 27. ix.⁶ However, the two festivals of the same king which alone really concern us here are both called  *Hc nsu Imnhtp* 'The Arising of King Amenophis' with unimportant variants; each of these is known from two distinct sources, and the dates are 29, i;⁷ 30, 1,⁸ and 11, xi;⁹ 13, xi¹⁰ respectively. A king can hardly have two accession days, and herein lies the puzzle. It will not help matters to recall that there were three kings of the name of Amenophis, not to speak of that one who, in the eyes of the Egyptians, disgraced himself by adopting a heretical faith; for, apart from the fact that we possess the accession-date for Amenophis II and possibly also that for Amenophis III (see below), these kings, if their accessions were still celebrated in the Twentieth Dynasty, would doubtless then have been designated by their distinctive prenoms.

TUTHMOSIS I: 21, vii.

The date is categorically stated in the proclamation sent to the Viceroy of Nubia, of which we possess two copies.¹¹

TUTHMOSIS II: 8, ii.

A stela¹² cut in the rock on the road from Aswān to Philae and dated in 8, i of year 1 commences with the words  *Arising by the Majesty of the Horus . . . Tuth-*

¹ See the article by Černý, *Bull. inst. fr.* XXVII, 159 ff.

² Op. cit., 182 ff.; Borchardt, op. cit. 28.

³ See now Černý, *Ann. Serv.* XLIII, 173 ff.

⁴ O. Cairo 25234, first published Daressy, *Ostraca*, p. 58 and pl. 46; a more correct transcription, by Černý, *Bull. inst. fr.* XXVII, 183 f.; however, I think Daressy was right in reading *pn-hnw*, *pn-bnr* in the concluding sentence, which may be understood to mean *the whole town turned out*, lit. *the inside of the town was the outside*.

⁵ Pleyte & Rossi, *Pap. Turin*, pl. 98, II, 5; I quote from my own transcription; Černý wrongly gave the date as 25, vii. The noun here, probably a *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον* and not quoted by *Wb.*, seems likely to be a derivative of *ss* 'spread' (a bed, *hnkyt*), *Wb.* III, 482, 19.

⁶ Botti & Peet, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*, pl. 53, l. 27.

⁷ O. Cairo 25275, in Daressy, op. cit., p. 70, corrected by Černý, op. cit., 182.

⁸ O. Cairo 25276, in Daressy, op. cit., p. 70 f.; a corrected transcription, Černý, op. cit., 184.

⁹ Botti & Peet, op. cit., pl. 58, l. 1.

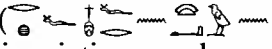
¹⁰ O. Brit. Mus. 5637 = *Inscr. in the Hierat. and Demot. Character*, pl. 15; transcribed and translated by Blackman, *JEA* XII, 183, with pl. 37; he renders *hry* here as *procession*, but this seems hardly possible on account of the preceding *m*, which seems to suggest a prolonged space of time.

¹¹ *Urk.* IV, 79 ff.

¹² Op. cit. IV, 137; see, too, the photograph of this group of inscriptions in de Morgan, *Catalogue*, I, pl. before p. 1.

mosis (II) upon the Horus-throne of the living, etc. Immediately after this exordium, in which the accession day seems clearly referred to,¹ comes the reference to the holding of a Court (*Lo, His Majesty was in his Castle*), whereupon there is brought to the King the unwelcome news of a Nubian rebellion. A similar case, from the very same place, is that of Amenophis III; but there are reasons which make the latter more doubtful.

HASHEPSOWE: she falsely claimed to have been associated by her father Tuthmosis I with himself at a ceremony stated to have taken place on New Year's Day (I, i.).

The statement occurs among the scenes at Dēr el-Bahri recording the legend of the childhood and accession of the ambitious woman-king. Of Tuthmosis I it is here said that *he knew the virtue of a New Year's Day accession* ().² I pointed out many years ago that at least considerable parts of this inscription were borrowed from one naming Sesostris III of which fragments are preserved in the Berlin Museum;³ and indeed, as we have seen, the choice of New Year's Day as the beginning of regnal years belonged to the Middle Kingdom rather than to the Eighteenth Dynasty. This is not the place to raise anew the vexed question of the Tuthmosid succession;⁴ but it seems agreed by the majority of scholars that Hāshepsowe herself elsewhere dated her regnal years from the accession of her consort Tuthmosis III. From Hāshepsowe's obelisk inscription we learn that the work upon it continued *from Year 15, 2nd month of Winter, day 1 until Year 16, 4th month of Summer, last day, making 7 months from the order in the mountain(-quarry)*.⁵ Consequently, the change of regnal year and the accession day corresponding thereto fell between the 6th and the 12th month, and this agrees with the date of the accession of Tuthmosis III, which I shall now proceed to discuss.

TUTHMOSIS III: 4, ix.

This is indicated as the accession-day in no less than three inscriptions: one text⁶ speaks of the day itself (*Year 1, 1st month of Summer, day 4, there occurred the Arising* (here infinitive, not abstract noun) *of the King's Son . . . Tuthmosis*); another, where we find *the Festival of the King's Arising of King Menkheperre, may he live for ever*, names it generally, without attaching it to any particular year;⁷ and the third,⁸ in an early portion of the Annals, mentions the anniversary of the 23rd year (*Year 23, 1st month of Summer, day 4, day of the Festival of the King's Arising*) as the date of Tuthmosis III's arrival at Gaza in his first campaign of victory. These three slightly differing employments display the new system of dating more completely than it is displayed anywhere else. Further evidence for the reign is really superfluous, but an argument based by Sethe⁹ on the datings in the great papyrus of accounts P. Louvre 3326¹⁰ is worth quoting to exhibit a method by which, as already noted, an accession date can often be fixed, if not exactly, at least approximately; the text records a large number of receipts and deliveries of dates at irregular intervals spread over yrs. 28 to 34, and despite some irregularities a change of year-dating is usually marked between a day late in the 8th month and one early in the 9th; the latest date in the 8th month immediately after which a new year indication occurs is the 24th day,¹¹ and the earliest day in the 9th month upon which the change

¹ So, too, understood by Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* II, 48, n. c; Sethe, *Hatschepsut-problem* (in *Abh. Berlin*, 1932), § 24; Borchardt, *Mittel*, 78.

² *Urk.* IV, 261, 8, cf. also 262, 7.

³ Berlin, *Aeg. Inschr.* I, 138; see Breasted, *op. cit.* II, p. 95, n. c.

⁴ The last writer on this topic agrees with Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 18 as regards the falsity of Hāshepsowe's claim; see Edgerton, *The Thutmosid succession* (Chicago, 1933), 31.

⁵ *Urk.* IV, 367, 3-5; see Sethe, *ZÄS* LVIII, 39.

⁷ *Op. cit.* IV, 177.

⁸ *Op. cit.* IV, 648, 9 ff.

⁶ *Urk.* IV, 180, 15 ff.

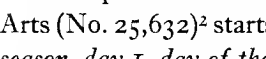
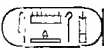



⁹ *ZÄS* LVIII, 40 f.

¹⁰ Published, but not very accurately, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1079 ff. I have used my own carefully collated copy.

¹¹ Col. 12, l. 6 of Brugsch's numbering.

is made is the 5th day;¹ the anniversary of the accession, therefore, took place between 24, viii and 5, ix, which agrees admirably with the accession-day being 4, ix.

AMENOPHIS II: explicitly stated to be 1, iv.

An unpublished stela discovered by Reisner at Semnah and now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (No. 25,632)² starts with the words {} *Year 23, 4th month of the Inundation season, day 1, day of the Festival of the King's Arising.*³ No king's name follows, but in l. 5 we find a reference to  *Amenophis Ruler of Heliopolis*, and since the concluding epithet, alternating for Amenophis II with  *Ruler of Thebes*, never occurs with Amenophis III, who affects only that last epithet, there can be little doubt that Amenophis II was intended, and that it is to his reign that the stela belongs. With this inference the date *Year 23* is in no disharmony, for a date in year 26 has been found, though some have cast doubt upon it. More convincing is the fact that on the stela two Syrian place-names are found which are known to have played a part in the campaigns of Amenophis II, namely  Takhsy and  Alalakh. A viceroy of Nubia was shown in the scene above, but his name has been intentionally erased; Reisner asserted that this was Wesersatet, whose tenure of office fell in the reign of Amenophis II,⁴ though Gauthier⁵ thought it might have extended into the short reign of Tuthmosis IV. For my part I feel reasonably certain that the Semnah stela belongs to the reign of Amenophis II. A difficulty arises, however, from the fact that the well-known biography of Amenemhab (*Urk.* iv, 895, 16) places the death of Tuthmosis III in his 54th year on the last day of the 7th month, and affirms that Amenophis II, his son and successor, was already established on the throne the next morning. There are two ways of reconciling these discrepant data. One is to assume that the name of the season in one or other of the two inscriptions is mistaken: if Tuthmosis III had died on the last day of the 3rd month, it would be quite natural to find his successor's accession day on the 1st day of the 4th month, whether the season in question was in both cases the Inundation season, or in both cases the season of Winter. But another possibility—it even amounts to a probability—is that Amenophis II had been associated on the throne with Tuthmosis III for exactly four months before the latter's death. A brief co-regency has sometimes⁶ been supposed for these two kings, their names being several times placed opposite one another on the same lintel,⁷ as was (e.g.) the case with Hasepsowe and Tuthmosis III, whose co-regency is disputed by none. On this alternative view the dates of both documents can be accepted as true and as not demanding emendation.

AMENOPHIS III: probably 2, iii.

The evidence regarding this accession-day is very similar to that for Tuthmosis II, being a rock-

¹ Col. 12, l. 7, and col. 55, l. 7.

² I owe to the authorities of the Museum an admirable photograph and to my friend Dows Dunham some valuable information.

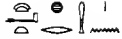
³ For the uraeus as determinative of this expression, see *Urk.* iv, 81, 4, but there the abstract *h'w* is used, not as here the infinitive *h't*.

⁴ *JEA*, vi, 32.

⁵ *Rec. trav.*, xxxix, 191 f.

⁶ So besides Wiedemann and Maspero (Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, II, 279, n. 2) see Petrie, *History*, II⁷, 135; Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 55, § 72; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, 74, n. c. Against this view, Meyer, *Geschichte*, II, I, 147, n. 1.

⁷ Besides the two doorways at Amada, there is a similar one in Thebes, tomb 42; see Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose and Another*, pl. 39: the prenomen *h-pr[w]-R* is there damaged, but op. cit. p. 34 Davies produced grounds for the belief that the name was that of Amenophis II, rather than of Tuthmosis I or II. But by far the most important evidence is that in the Theban tomb of Dedi (No. 200), where the two kings were shown enthroned and inspecting a military display together; see Porter & Moss, *Bibliography*, I, 153, (3)(4).

cut stela on the same road, that from Aswān to Philae.¹ The above date is followed by  *Arising by the Majesty of* and likewise leads up to the report of a rebellion in Nubia. But here *on the Horus-throne of the living* is absent, and the year being year 5, not year 1, the dating could at best be that of an anniversary, not of the actual accession-day. That is why I regard the date as probable only, not altogether certain.

IV

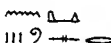
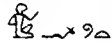
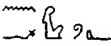

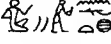

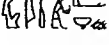
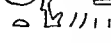
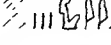
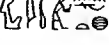

The discussion of the few certain or probable accession-days of the Eighteenth Dynasty has sufficiently illustrated the system of dating then employed, and thus the purpose with which I set out has been fulfilled. Looking back, we see that the earliest dynasties simply gave a name to each individual civil year, fitting into this framework any occurrences connected with the throne which it was desired to record. The civil year was paramount, the regnal year as yet non-existent. But a mere naming of years must necessarily impose an intolerable burden upon the users' memories, particularly through its failure to provide any clue to the sequence of the years so named. No practical system of dating can dispense with numbers, and had it been desired to adhere solely to the civil year, the inauguration of some era would have been the only solution. That the Egyptians at least once in their history dimly conceived of dating by an era is shown by the famous stela of *Year 400 of Set-Nubti*.² However, the actual development followed a different course. It is useless to reiterate the way in which the Middle Kingdom system of regnal years evolved; all that need here be noted is that this was only a disguised adaptation of the dating by civil years—regnal year and civil year coinciding except as regards the first and last years of a reign, where the harmonization of the two methods could be effected only by the fiction that the first regnal year of a king was a complete one and that, from the standpoint of the successors, his last year did not exist. The self-glorious kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, impatient of this compromise, threw it overboard in favour of an uncompromising system of regnal years dated from accession day to accession day; but since the civil calendar continued to be used for the business of daily life one could never be quite sure that this or that day of a given month really preceded that which its number seemed to demand should immediately follow it. The Saite Pharaohs wisely reverted to the practice of the Middle Kingdom, which, in spite of its artificiality, provided the only reconciliation of civil and regnal year that was feasible.

¹ Leps. *Denkm.* III, 81, g; de Rougé, *Inscr. hiér.*, pl. 254.

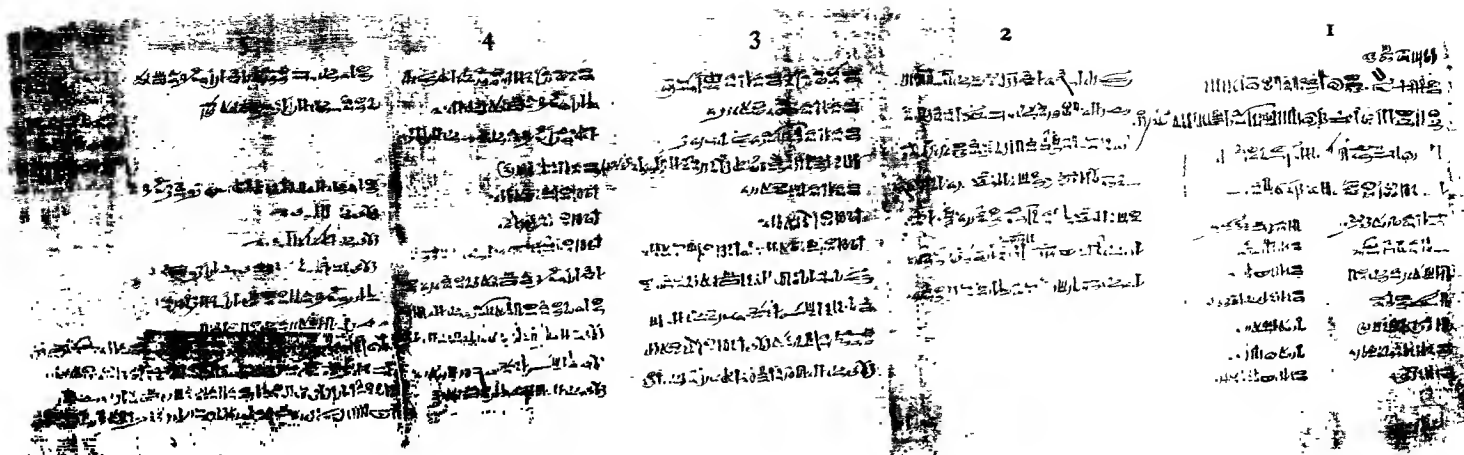
² On this see Sethe in *ZÄS* LXV, 85 ff., and my further comments in *JEA* XIX, 124.

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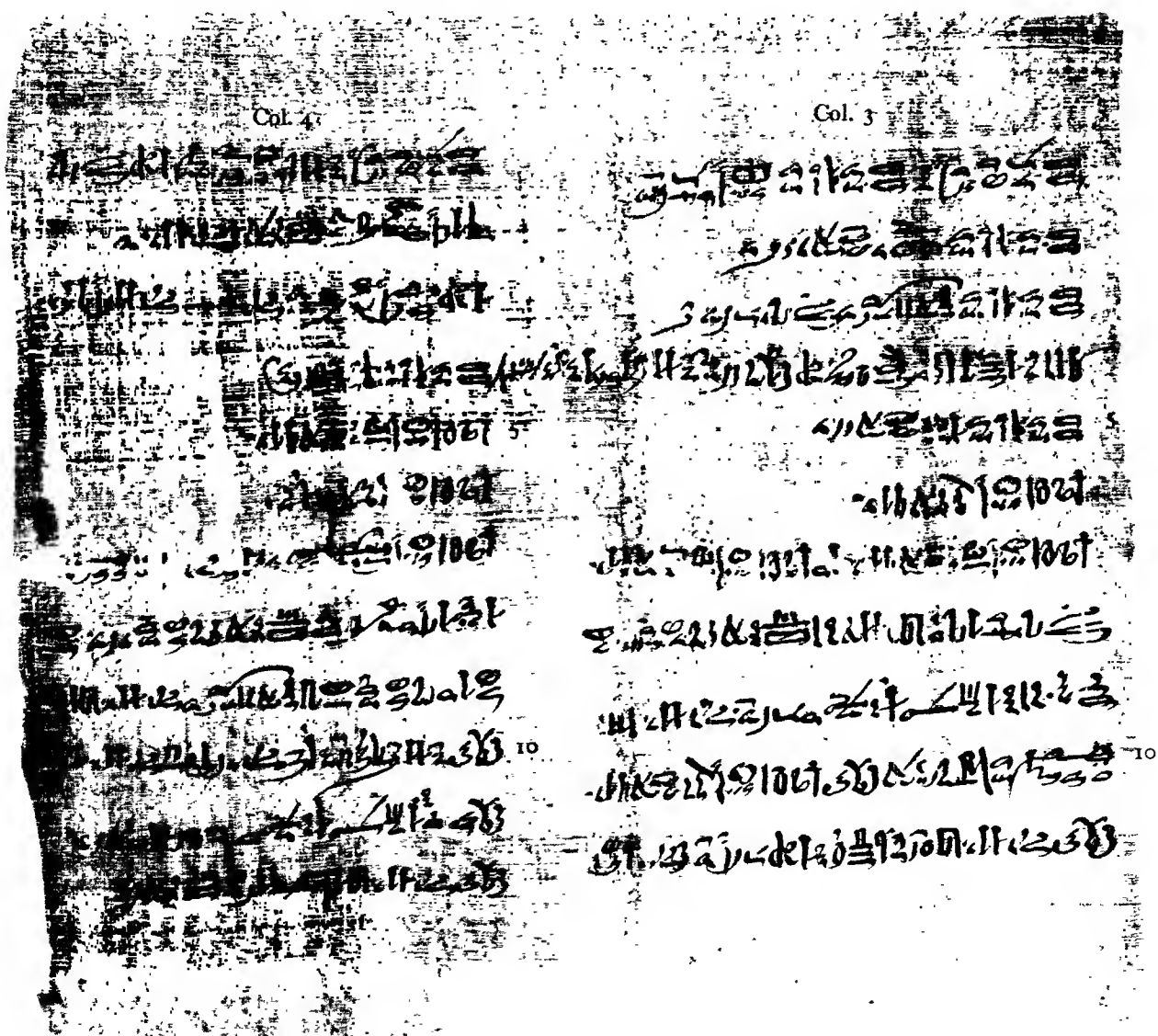
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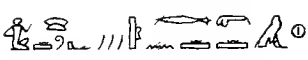
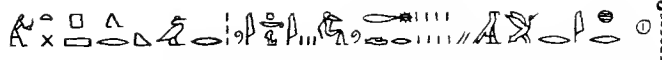


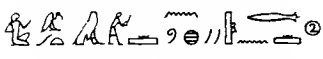
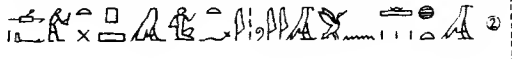
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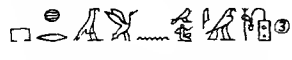


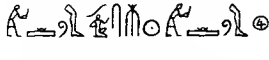
THE WILL OF NAUNAKHTE (DOCUMENT I), COLS. 3 AND 4

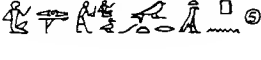
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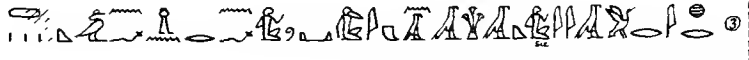
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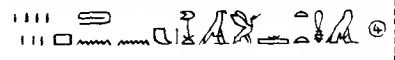
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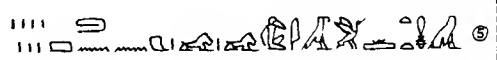
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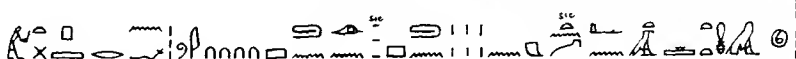
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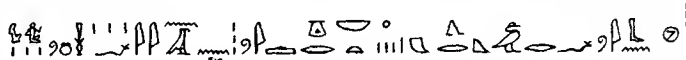
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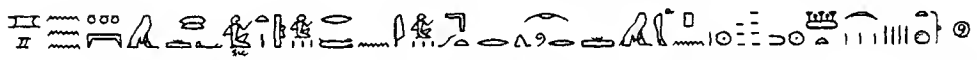
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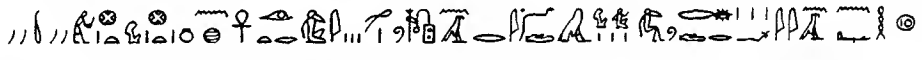
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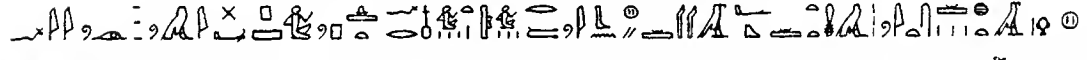
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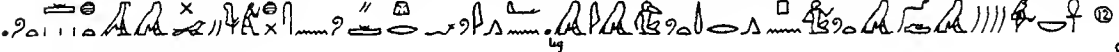
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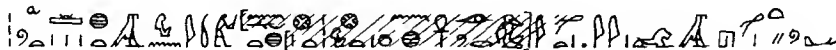
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⑭ 

⑮ 

5.9a  is made like  in 6.4.

COLS. 5 AND 6



Read  

DOCKET ON THE VERSO

THE WILL OF NAUNAKHTE (DOCUMENT 1)

VERSO

1 1
 2 2
 3 3
 4 4
 5 5
 6 6
 7 7
 8 8
 9 9
 10 10
 11 11
 12 12
 13 13

RECTO

1 1
 2 2
 3 3
 4 4
 5 5
 6 6
 7 7
 8 8
 9 9
 10 10
 11 11
 12 12
 13 13

VERSO

1 1
 2 2
 3 3
 4 4
 5 5
 6 6
 7 7
 8 8
 9 9
 10 10
 11 11
 12 12
 13 13
 14 14
 15 15
 16 16
 17 17

RECTO

1 1
 2 2
 3 3
 4 4
 5 5
 6 6
 7 7
 8 8
 9 9
 10 10
 11 11
 12 12
 13 13
 14 14
 15 15
 16 16
 17 17
 18 18
 19 19
 20 20

[The page contains dense handwritten Korean text, likely a manuscript or ledger, which is heavily obscured by noise and artifacts.]

[illegible]

[illegible]

b) A not uncommon mistake in Late Egyptian hieratic.

THE WILL OF NAUNAKHTE AND THE RELATED DOCUMENTS

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

It often happens that documents which have come down to us from Pharaonic Egypt mention the same persons. Nor are these always persons of high rank, but may be quite unimportant people. Above all, the workmen and scribes employed in the work on the Royal Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes and members of their families are mentioned again and again alike in hieroglyphic inscriptions and in hieratic documents, so that it is frequently possible for us to obtain a glimpse of their lives and to become acquainted with details of their personal affairs. Cases are, however, relatively few where a given concern is referred to in several documents,¹ and the dealings with regard to the property of the lady Naunakhte, which form the subject of the present article, are probably unique in this respect. Of the four papyri here published for the first time three certainly, and the fourth hardly less so, deal with one and the same question of inheritance. Two of the documents came to light in the French Institute's excavations at Dēr el-Medīnah in the spring of 1928; the two others appeared on the market several years later and were acquired by Dr. Gardiner, in whose possession they now are. It seems that, though coming from the same place, the purchased documents were not found at the same time as the other two, but subsequently in the course of one of those illicit digs so often indulged in by the modern inhabitants of the Theban Necropolis. Dr. Gardiner and the Director of Excavations of the French Institute, M. Bernard Bruyère, have kindly entrusted the present writer with the publication of the documents in their respective charge, and the Director of the Institute, M. Charles Kuentz, has consented to let me edit the Institute's two documents here in advance of the full official publication of the Institute's papyrus finds, so that they may serve as illustrative material to the main papyrus, namely Naunakhte's last will. The latter will be referred to in this article as document No. I, the two small sheets found in the excavations as Nos. II and III, and the second papyrus belonging to Dr. Gardiner as No. IV.²

A. Document I. The Last Will of Naunakhte (Pls. VIII, VIIIA, IX)

When acquired this papyrus was in two rolls, and only after being unrolled by Dr. Ibscher did it turn out to be a single papyrus that had been cut into two approxi-

¹ Such a case is that of P. Berlin 10496 and Ostr. Brit. Mus. 5624, as was recognized by Erman, *Zwei Aktenstücke aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt* in *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1910, 330-47. To these two documents a third, an unpublished hieratic ostrakon at Florence, should be added.

² I am under a great obligation to both Dr. Gardiner and Prof. Gunn for reading the present article in manuscript, and for contributing many remarks and criticisms which often led either to a better understanding of the documents or to clearer formulation of my comments.

mately equal smaller rolls. Such a division is not infrequent when a large roll falls into the hands of two natives; each hopes to sell his part separately and so to get for it more than he would from a half share of the intact roll.¹ In one case this maltreatment has resulted in the two parts of a papyrus being now preserved in two different collections thousands of miles apart,² in other cases one part has been subsequently lost so that only the upper³ or lower⁴ half is known to us. The two halves of No. I were fortunately secured before they had time to part company, and now form a splendid document 43 cm.⁵ in height and 192 cm. in length, complete and undamaged except for a few holes hardly affecting the written text. Eight joins show the places where separate sheets of papyrus had been gummed together, each right-hand sheet overlying that to its left; these joins occur at fairly regular intervals of 25.5 cm., leaving short strips of 4 cm. at the beginning and 11 cm. at the end. The scribe or rather scribes, as we shall see presently, proceeded with lavish disregard of space, see pl. VIII, top. He first left uninscribed a large portion of about 54 cm. wide before writing his first column of 12 lines, placing the short lines 13 to 19 to the left of the equally short lines 6–12. The average length of col. 1 is 22 cm.; line 3, however, extends to 30 cm. The scribe could, therefore, start his col. 2 only to the left of this long line, so that a rather large space had to be left blank between cols. 1 and 2. Col. 2 contains only 7 lines, no less than 15 cm. remaining empty at the bottom. Cols. 3 and 4 contain 11 and 12 lines respectively, several of them very short. Col. 5 starts with 2 lines at the top, then a space equal to 2 lines is left blank, after which 6 more lines were added. It was here that the original text ended, for the next line starts with a new date and lines 9–12 of this column as well as the 5 short lines of col. 6 are written in a different hand. The new scribe, after finishing line 12 of col. 5, found himself at the end of the roll; since the remainder of his text was quite brief, he crowded it into 5 short lines, forming col. 6 at the top and end of the document. The difference in handwriting of the two parts of the text is obvious and can easily be demonstrated by comparison of signs and groups occurring in both parts, e.g. { $\textcircled{\text{O}}$ in 1, 1 and 5, 9; $\frac{\text{YIAT}}{\text{O}}$ in 1, 1 and $\frac{\text{YIAT}}{\text{O}}$ in




¹ The same fate befell P. Abbott; the cut can be clearly seen in the facsimile *Select Papyri . . . from the Collections of the British Museum*, II, pls. 1–6.

² The two parts called respectively P. Amherst (in New York) and P. Léopold II (in Brussels). See their thrilling history as recounted by J. Capart, *Histoire d'un papyrus*, in *Le Flambeau*, March, 1935 (reproduced *JEA* xxii, 169–70) and the final publication of the whole document J. Capart & A. H. Gardiner, *Le papyrus Léopold II . . . et le papyrus Amherst*, Brussels, 1939.

³ E.g. the P. Amiens, publ. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, pp. 1–13, and partly in photograph *JEA* xxvii, pl. vii.

⁴ E.g. the so-called P. Lee in Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri*, pls. 2–3.

⁵ The normal height of the papyrus roll in the New Kingdom, as it reached the market from the factory (Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* II, p. 5; Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. xviii) was 42–4 cm. Papyri of this original full height were not uncommonly used for business and legal documents; the most important instances are: P. Brit. Mus. 10054 (height 41 cm.), Harris (42 cm.), according to the statement, 16½ in., made in the official publication, *Facsimile of an Egyptian Hieratic Papyrus*, Introduction; the measurements on the facsimile give anything from 42 to 43 cm.), Wilbour (42 cm.), Brit. Mus. 10053 (c. 42 cm.), Abbott (42.5 cm.), Mayer A (42.5 cm.), Brit. Mus. 10068 (44 cm.), Brit. Mus. 10403 (45 cm.), Turin Conspiracy Papyrus (c. 42 cm.). Rolls of such height were hardly ever used for literary texts, half-height rolls (20–2 cm.) being mostly taken for that purpose; two literary papyri exceeding this height are the Chester Beatty Dream-book (35 cm.) and the Leyden hymn to Amūn (38 cm.).

5, 9;  in 1, 5 and 5, 9; *hrd* in 3, 10; 4, 1 and 5, 10;  in 3, 8; 4, 2. 8. 12; 5, 2. 6 and  5, 11, etc. The first part of the text is said in 5, 8 to be 'written by the scribe of the King's Tomb Amennakht', and we shall not go far wrong in attributing the second part to 'the scribe of the King's Tomb Ḥarshīre' named among witnesses in 6, 5.

No information is available about the way in which the papyrus was found rolled, but it is certain that the inscribed face, on the horizontal fibres, lay inside. The papyrus was probably rolled around the left-hand border, so that the right-hand edge was exposed. Along the latter, on the vertical fibres, i.e. on the *verso* of the papyrus, and visible when the papyrus was rolled, runs a single-line docket (transcription on pl. IX), rather damaged in the middle and stating the nature of the document.¹ The rest of the *verso* is blank.

TRANSLATION

Year 3, fourth month of the Inundation season, day 5 under (His) Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usimaṛē-skheperenrē, the son of Rē, the Lord of Diadems like Atūm, Raṁmesse-Amenḥikhopshef-miamūn, given life to all eternity.

On this day a declaration^a concerning her property was made (1, 5) by the citoyenne Naunakhte before the following court:

The chief workman Nekhemmūt,	the draughtsman Pentwēre,
the chief workman Anḥerkhēw,	the workman Usihē,
the scribe of the King's Tomb Amennakht, (1, 15)	the workman Nebnūfe,
the scribe Ḥarshīre,	the workman Amenpeḥāpi,
(1, 10) the draughtsman Amenḥotp,	the district officer Amennakht,
the workman Telmont,	the district officer Raṁmose,
the workman To,	the workman Nebnūfe, son of Khons.

(2, 1) She said: As for me, I am a free woman^b of the land of Pharaoh. I brought up^c these eight servants of yours^d and gave them an outfit^e of everything (such) as is usually made^f for those in their station. But see, I am grown old, (2, 5) and see, they are not looking after^g me in my turn.^h Whoever of them has aided me,ⁱ to him I will give (of) my property,^j (but) he who has not given to me, to him I will not give of my property.

(3, 1) List of the workmen and women to whom she gave^k:

the workman Maaynakhtef,

the workman Ḳenḥikhopshef. She said: I have given to him as a special reward (?)^l a washing-bowl of bronze over and above his fellows^m—10 sacks of emmer,ⁿ

(3, 5) the workman Amennakht,
the citoyenne Wosnakhte,

the citoyenne Manṣenakhte. As for the citoyenne Manṣenakhte, she said concerning her: She shall have her share^o in the division of all my property except for the *oipe* of emmer which my three (3, 10) male^p children and also the citoyenne Wosnakhte have given^q me and (except for) my *hin* of fat which they have given me in the same manner.^r

(4, 1) List of her children of whom she said: They shall not participate^s in the division of my one-third,^t but in the two-thirds of their father they shall participate^u:

the workman Neferḥotp,

(4, 5) the citoyenne Manṣenakhte,
the citoyenne Ḥenshēne,

¹ See a similar docket in P. Brit. Mus. 10054, Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pp. 52-3.

the citoyenne Khaṣnub. As for these four children of mine,^v they shall <not>^w participate in the division of any of my property. And as for any property of the scribe Kenḥikhopshes, my husband, (4, 10) and also his landed property and this store-room of my father and also this *oipe* of emmer which I collected^x in company with my husband, they shall not share them. (5, 1) And as for these eight children of mine they shall participate in the division of the property of their father in one single division.

And as for my cauldron^y which I gave him to purchase^z bread for himself and the *h*₃-tool^{aa} of seven *debens* (5, 5) and the *irr*-vase^{bb} of seven *debens* and the pick^{cc} of six *debens*, that is forty *debens* (in all), they shall serve him^{dd} as a portion. He shall not participate in any further copper,^{ee} it shall belong to his brothers (and sisters).^{ff}









Written by Amennakht, the scribe of the King's Tomb of forbidden entry.^{gg}
(*In another hand:*)

Year 4, third month of the Inundation season, day 17. On this day the workman Khaṣmnūn (5, 10) and his children again presented themselves at the court saying: 'As for the writings which the citoyenne Naunakhte has made concerning her property, they shall be (carried out) exactly as prescribed.^{hh} The workman Neferhotp shall not shareⁱⁱ in it.' He made an oath by the Lord saying: 'If I reverse my undertaking so as to contest it again',—(that then) he^{jj} 'would be liable to one hundred blows and be deprived of his property'.

(6, 1) Before the chief workman Khēw,^{kk}
the chief workman Nekhemmut,
the scribe of the King's Tomb Harshire,
the district officer Raṣmose,
the district officer (6, 5) Pentwēre, son of Nakhtmin.

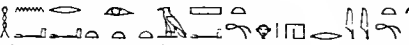



(DOCKET ON OUTSIDE) Declaratory deed^{ll} w[hich the citoyenne Nau]nakhte [made] of (?) their (*sic*!) property.



NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

a (1, 4).  here and in the docket on the *verso* must be a technical term denoting the written record of a legal act performed on a certain day; in the docket it qualifies the word  *rwty* 'roll' as does  'statement' in P. Brit. Mus. 10053, 1, 4;  'name-list' in Pleyte and Rossi, *Pap. Turin* 49, 2, and  'receipts of corn', op. cit. 65c, 3. The word, occurring also in Amenemope 21, 9 (see Griffith's note on the passage, *JEA* XII, 218, n. 3), is undoubtedly identical with  *Wb.* II, 500, 26, and probably also with the feminine  *Wb.* II, 476, 2, for which see P. Berlin 10496, *vs.* 1, publ. Erman, *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1910, 333. Gardiner suggests that the word is a derivative of *hrw* 'day', whence its primary meaning 'journal', then 'journal-entry'. The word survives well into Dyn. XXV. In the abnormal hieratic P. Louvre 3228, 81 a man and his sister, referring to their preceding statement concerning the sale of a slave, say in an oath:  'I shall not be able to withdraw the declaration which is (found) above'. Gunn makes the plausible suggestion that the word occurs as early as Dyn. XII in the famous text P. Berlin 10012, a temple journal containing a copy of the letter announcing the heliacal rise of Sothis.² In l. 21 we should

¹ Dated in year 3 of Taharka. Published in facsimile by Revillout, *Quelques textes démotiques archaïques*, pl. 1; contents in Griffith, *Ryl.* III, 15.

² Published in transcription by Borchardt, *ZÄS* xxxvii, 99, and in facsimile by Möller, *Hierat. Lesestücke*, 1, 19.

according to Gunn read  'and let this letter to be entered (lit. made) in the journal of the temple'. The determinative read by Borchardt as  has in Möller's facsimile the form  and closely resembles the  of the preceding *šrt* except for the lack of the second end of the string which may, however, be so faint on the original as to be easily overlooked.


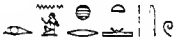


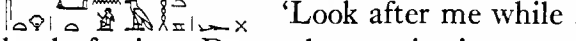
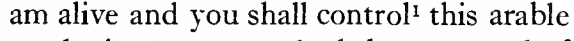
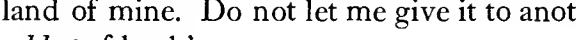
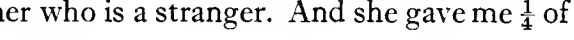


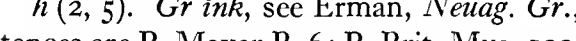
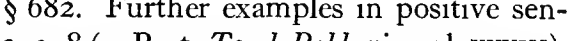
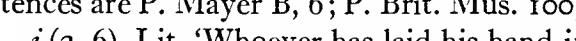
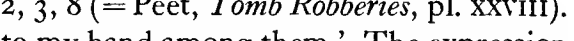
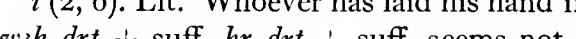
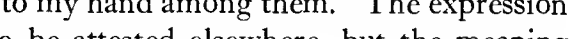
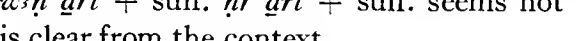
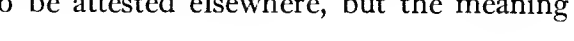
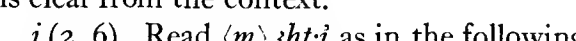
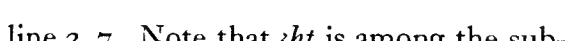
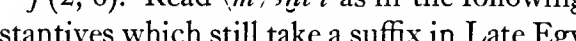
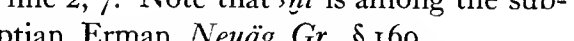
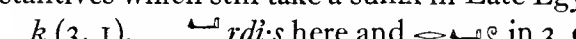
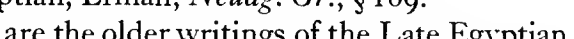
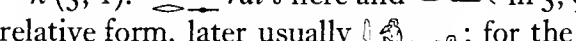
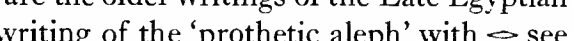
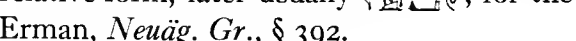
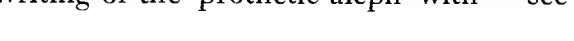
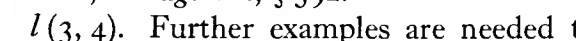
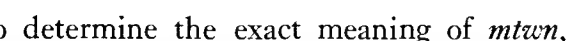
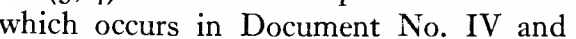
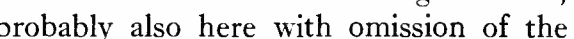
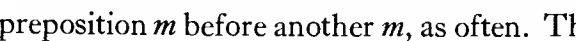
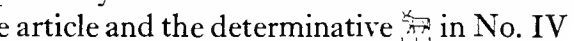
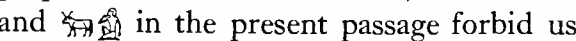
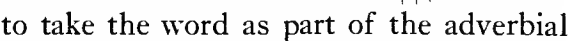
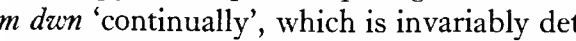
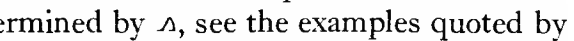
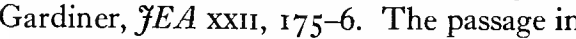
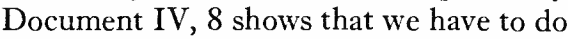
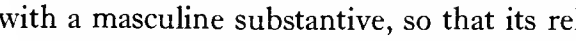
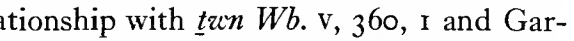
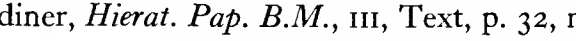
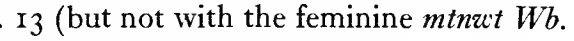
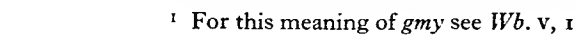
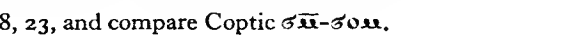












b (2, 1). *Ir ink, ink nmh*. For this beginning of depositions before the court, see examples *Ann. Serv.* XLI, 338. In *nmh*, *n* of course is meant by , not a , as the word does not seem to possess a special feminine form. The most recent discussion of the word is by Gardiner, *JEA* XIX, 21; see also op. cit. XXVI, 26.

c (2, 2). *Iry-i shpr* instead of a simple *sdm-f*-form of the verb, since the latter is 4 lit.—For plural strokes with infinitives see Sethe, *Verbum*, II, §§ 602–3.






















d (2, 2). *Tn-my* is the classical *n-tn-imy* (Gard., *Egn. Gr.*, § 113, 3). The construction is rare in Late Egyptian; for two more examples, see my *Late Ramesside Letters*, 50a, n. 13^a.

e (2, 3). For *grg-pr*, see Gardiner, *JEA* XXII, 180.

f (2, 3). *Ir-f*, namely the 'outfit', *grg-pr* being masc. sing.

g (2, 5). *Irt hrt* with suffix or datival *n* 'to look after', see Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, n. on VIII, 28 (Commentary, p. 24). Further in the deposition of the shoemaker Penōne, , on his hieratic stela in Cairo, No. $\frac{27}{24} \frac{6}{3}$, l. 2: 'He said: As for me, the citizeness Shedēse, a servant of mine, came to me saying:                                                         

of the carelessness of the Egyptian scribe, who in a vital passage has omitted the essential word 'not', thus expressing the exact opposite of what the lady intended.

x (4, 11). In , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,














20 and 17 lines respectively. The texts are certainly not due to the same hand; the writing of II is large, thick, and clumsy in its forms, while that of III is smaller and neater. In both the top of the *verso* stands immediately behind the bottom of the *recto*, because the writing of the *verso* was continued after turning the papyrus vertically.



TRANSLATION







The contents of the two documents are identical save for a few variants, so that the translation is here given in parallel columns.




II.	III.
List of the division of the property of our mother:	List of the division of the property of our mother:
(2) { given (to) Amennakht, 1 millstone, given (to) Wosnakhte, 1 millstone, given (to) Man'enakhte, 1 <i>ikr</i> ,	given to Amennakht, 1 millstone, given to Wosnakhte, 1 millstone, given to Man'enakhte, 1 <i>ikr</i> ,
(5) given (to) Ken(hi)khopshef, 1 <i>ikr</i> , given (to) Maa(y)nakhtef, 1 box.	(5) given to Ken(hi)khopshef, 1 <i>ikr</i> , given to Maa(y)nakhtef, 1 box.
given (to) Man'enakhte, 1 mortar, given (to) Amennakht, 1 mortar, given (to) Ken(hi)khopshef, 1 mortar, (10) given (to) Nebnakht, 1 mortar, given (to) Maa(y)nakhtef, 1 wooden <i>gstr</i> -box.	Again, another division: given to Man'enakhte, 1 mortar, given to Amennakht, 1 mortar, given to Ken(hi)khopshef, 1 mortar, given to Maa(y)nakhtef, 1 <i>gwr</i> -box (?), given to Wosnakhte, 1 mortar.
given to Amennakht, 1 cage (?), given to Man'enakhte, 1 <i>tp</i> ,	Again, another division —:
(vs. 1) given (to) Ken(hi)khopshef, legs (of a) <i>mst</i> , given (to) Maa(y)nakhtef, 1 <i>krt</i> , given (to) Wosnakhte, 1 <i>db</i> .	(15) given to Amennakht, 1 cage (?), given to Man'enakhte, 1 <i>tp</i> , given to Ken(hi)khopshef, legs of a <i>mst</i> , given to Maa(y)nakhtef, 1 <i>krt</i> , given to Wosnakhte, 1 <i>db</i> .
given (to) Man'enakhte, 1 measure, (vs. 5) given to Amennakht, 1 measure, given to Wosnakhte, 1 measure, given (to) Ken(hi)khopshef, 1 sledge, given (to) Maa(y)nakhtef, 1 sledge.	(20) Again, another division: (vs. 1) given to Man'enakhte, 1 measure, given to Amennakht, 1 measure, given to Wosnakhte, 1 measure, given to Ken(hi)khopshef, 1 sledge, (vs. 5) given to Maa(y)nakhtef, 1 sledge.
given (to) Ken(hi)khopshef, 1 <i>mst</i> of <i>rb</i> (?), (vs. 10) given (to) Amennakht, 1 <i>htp</i> of wood, given (to) Nebnakht, 1 <i>htp</i> and 1 mortar, given (to) Man'enakhte, 1 <i>hd</i> , given (to) Maa(y)nakhtef, 1 <i>gst</i> -box of stone (?).	Again, another division: given to Ken(hi)khopshef, 1 <i>mst</i> of <i>rb</i> (?), given to Amennakht, 1 leg (of ?) <i>htp</i> (?), given to Wosnakhte, 1 <i>htp</i> and 1 mortar, (vs. 10) given to Man'enakhte, 1 <i>hd</i> , given to Maa(y)nakhtef, 1 <i>gstr</i> .
	Again, another division: given to Amennakht, 1 <i>škr</i> , given to Ken(hi)khopshef, 1 foot-rest (?), (vs. 15) given to Maa(y)nakhtef, 1 foot-rest (?), given to Man'enakhte, 1 foot-rest (?), given to Wosnakhte, 1 foot-rest (?).



NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION



As to the grammar one point only is worth mentioning: the  of II, 2 and  in III, 2 standing for the suffix 1st pl. -n.  are found occasionally in this function in Late Egyptian after a preceding *t*. Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 576 quotes conjunctive  for *mtw·n* from Horus and Seth 8, 10; 13, 3-4, but a rapid search in the Tomb Robberies papyri where according to Peet (*Tomb Robberies*, Text, 168, n. 101)  for  should often occur, revealed only two examples: P. Brit. Mus. 10054, 2, 4  'until we come' and ib. 2, 12  'which we find'. There are a few more in my *Late Ramesside Letters*: 10, 9  'before us'; 44, 15  'our eye', 23, 6  'we say'; 23, 12  'in which we are' and 69, 13  'and we shall come'. More difficult, however, is the lexicographical side of these two monotonous lists, for of the many objects mentioned in them most are practically unknown. The words the meaning of which is assured are only four in number:

  *bnwt* 'millstone', *Wb.* I, 458, 13;







  *mdht*,   Ayrton-Currelly-Weigall, *Abydos*, III, pl. LIV (now O. Cairo, *Cat. gén.* Černý, 25670), Col. II, 6, which has been identified by Dévaud, *Rec. trav.* xxxix, 171-2, with 'mortar', Coptic *ⲙⲁⲁⲓⲧ*. Dévaud's identification is confirmed by O. Dēr el-Medīnah 69, 5, where we have   'pestle in mortar'. Our new examples settle the true reading *mdht* of the word, while *Wb.* II, 193, 2 has *mdht*;






 *ipt*, wooden recipient and corn-measure of the form , from which , a measure of capacity of 40 *hin*, had its name.






  is apparently the word for a sledge with the head of a wolf or jackal *wnš* (*ⲩⲛⲥ*), *Wb.* I, 325, 2; apart from the mention in the very late Sign-list there quoted, the only known examples are, firstly on a stela of Dyn. XII from a quarry in the Eastern Desert where such sledges were used, *Ann. Serv.* xxxix, 189, and secondly in a Dyn. XX list of objects, Pleyte and Rossi, *Pap. Turin*, 106, 4, 9.


Among the remaining names of objects two are completely unknown,  *krt* and  *hd* occurring only in our lists and nowhere else.

Others again appear elsewhere, though mostly in lists which give no clue as to their exact nature:



 *ikr*, *Wb.* I, 138, 6;  O. Dēr el-Medīnah 239, ii, 6 and iii, 1;  (III, 7),  (II, 6; read  *hr*, perhaps identical with  *Wb.* II, 498, 5.




 (III, 12; *vs.* II),  (II, 11) reminds one of  *Wb.* v, 153, 9, a kind of box (with lid). The two words are possibly identical, since not too much weight is to be attached to the presence of  or  *r*. In II, *vs.* 13 *g:st* seems to be made of stone.




 (III, 15),  (II, 12) is probably  *dbt*, *Wb.* v, 494, 10 (where  comes from *dbt* 'brick'), a Late-Egyptian writing of  *db:t*, *Wb.* v, 561, some kind of chest. Can it here mean 'cage'? For this there existed an Old Egyptian word *db:*, *Wb.* v, 561, 14, and for a part thereof another *db:*, *Wb.* v, 555, 4.



 (III, 19),  (II, *vs.* 3) differing only by its determinative from the











preceding word and otherwise unknown in this form, could be another 'cage', this time not of wood, but—judging from its determinative—of some wicker-work.

 *tp*, unknown to *Wb.*, but see  O. Cairo (*Cat. gén.* Černý) 25624, I, 15.

 (II, *vs.* 1–2; III, 17; *vs.* 7),  (II, *vs.* 9) *mst(i)*, equally unknown; there is, however, a Graeco-Roman *mstī*, *Wb.* II, 32, 14, denoting a part of ship. In one of the two entries read *rb* the word  preceding *mstī*; in the other, *mst(i)* is preceded by *rdwi* 'legs of'.




 (II, *vs.* 10, 11; III, *vs.* 8, 9) *hṭp* is unknown in this form, but *Wb.* III, 196, 5 quotes  *hṭpy* (from Ayrton-Currelly-Weigall, *Abydos*, III, pl. XIV, col. ii, 4). It may be, after all, the same thing as the receptacle  *Wb.* III, 195, 12, only made of a different material. Or should we understand '*hṭp* for legs (*rdwi*)'? It would be then a case similar to *hr rdwi*, see below.

 (III, *vs.* 13) *škr*, *Wb.* IV, 550, 1, probably identical with *šgr*, *Wb.* IV, 550, 10. For instances see Burchardt, *Die altkanaan. Fremdworte*, Nos. 883 and 890; add for *škr* O. Cairo (*Cat. gén.* Černý) 25693, 4; for *šgr* O. Liverpool 13626 M; O. Cairo (op. cit.) 25655, *vs.* 2–4; with det.  25800, I, 5.

 (III, *vs.* 14–17) *hr-rdwi* is unattested elsewhere. Judging from the analogy with  and varr. *hdm(w) rdwi*, the well-known word for 'foot-rest', and  *gš(wt) rdwi* (O. Cairo, *Cat. gén.* Černý, 25612, 3, together with *hdm rdwi*) which must be an object of similar nature, *hr-rdwi* should be a third term for 'foot-rest', and  itself perhaps identical with the  above mentioned. It is not even quite impossible that this *hr* may be the same as  *hn*, a box of the form of its determinative.¹ Such an interchange of *n* and *r* may seem strange, but its possibility is shown by a curious and certain example quoted here. In O. Dēr el-Medīnah No. 239, col. iii, 2–3 (publ. in my *Catalogue des ostraca non littéraires* II, pl. 23) in a list of objects occur  and . Now a stone object of feminine gender in Egyptian having a 'son' can only be  *bnwt hr sꜣs* (P. Harris, 65a, 9) of which *Wb.* I, 458, 14 gives the correct explanation: it is the 'upper millstone with its son', i.e. 'the nether millstone'.² But for the example in P. Harris nobody would have dreamt of the identity of *bnwt* and  *bri*.

C. Document IV. The two Depositions of Khaemnūn (Pl. XII)

The fourth document, the last to emerge, was bought by Dr. Gardiner and is now likewise in his possession. It forms a single sheet of papyrus, 20 to 21 cm. in height and 43 cm. in breadth. The text of nine lines is inscribed over earlier writing erased with considerable care. It runs across the *vertical* fibres and this indicates that the document as we now have it represents a small section cut from a roll of the full height

¹ It should be borne in mind that *hdm(w)* and *gš(wt)* were both terms for boxes, not mere stools; in the case of *gš(wt)* this is well known, for *hdm(w)* see O. Dēr el-Medīnah 107, 6:  'hdm(w) full of thread'. It is interesting to note, as Gunn pointed out to me, that the Hebrew  'footstool' with which Eg. *hdm* has been compared, never occurs unless joined with  'feet' (Gesenius-Robinson, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon* [1906], p. 213).

² For this to us so strange metaphor of filial relationship cf. 'Do ye desire that the king should favour you? . . . then shall you place for me this lid of this coffin upon its mother', *Urk.* I, 205.—A.H.G.

(see p. 30, n. 5). The *verso* is blank. To judge from the existence of eight narrow horizontal breaks, the papyrus must have been found rolled along its longer side, probably from bottom to top, so that the top edge was outside the roll and suffered some slight damage. The left-hand edge is irregular and the papyrus is somewhat shorter where the first two lines end, but this seems to be ancient and nothing is lost. The papyrus was slightly damaged in consequence of an air-raid, after which water seeped into the safe-deposit where it was stored. As a result the two top lines adhere irremovably to the original protecting glass; the rest has been safely remounted between new sheets of glass.

The text is in two hands. The first part, lines 1–3, shows a bold writing with good forms and orthography; the second portion from line 4 on, however, is written carelessly and abounds in mistakes of all kinds.



TRANSLATION



Statement made^a by the workman Kha^cemⁿ before the workman Anynakht, the workman Kēdakhtef, the workman Harnūfe, the workman Neferhotp, the workman Amennakht, the workman Maa(y)nakhtef, and the workman Khons: 'Look, I will give^b this washing-bowl weighing^c 13 *debens* of copper. It shall belong to^d Kēnhikhopshef (and) no son or daughter shall contest it, nor shall his deposition be heard^e, it not (being included in) any division.'



Year 3, third month of the Inundation season, day 10. On this day the workman Kha^cemⁿ stated: 'As for the washing-bowl which I have given (to) the workman Kēnhikhopshef, (5) his (*sic!*) son, it shall belong to him. Neither any son or daughter nor the wife of Kēn^f shall contest it, nor shall his deposition be heard in future'.

Handing over on this day (?)^g before the workman Anynakht, the workman Kēdakhtef, the workman Nebnakht, the workman Khons, the workman Neferhotp, the workman Amennakht (and) the workman Kha^c(em)ⁿ himself, the workman Kēnhikhopshef having declared: 'I will give him 2½ *khar*', and then having sworn^h an oath by the Lord saying: 'As Amūn endures, and as the Ruler endures! If I take this income in grainⁱ from my father they shall take away^j this reward (?)^k of mine, and I will (give (?)^l) one pair of sandals to the workman Amennakht and I (?) will give^e one box (to)^m the workman Maa(y)nakhtef in order toⁿ pay for the writings which they have made concerning the deposition of their father.'





NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION


a (1).  stands for the usual  'statement', lit. 'that which N. said.'




b (2). ., where the dot is to be interpreted as the suffix  of the 1st pers. sing., is a special *sdm.f*-form with future meaning used in promises and oaths and showing a 'prothetic aleph' with 2-lit. and IIIae inf. verbs, see my remarks *JEA* xxiii, 188, n. 7, and Gardiner, op. cit., xxi, 141. The negative counterpart is *bn sdm.f* occurring in *bn md šri*, l. 3 of the present text, whereas the negation of the ordinary past *sdm.f* is *bwptw.f sdm*.

c (3). *ṯw.f hr irt*, lit. 'while it makes' is certainly an indication of weight, not of price, the latter being regularly expressed by means of , older  *irw n*. Since, however, the work expended on the bowl would be cheap, there cannot have been a great difference between weight and price.



d (3). For *ṯw.f n* see note *dd* on I, 5, 6.




e (3). In *sdm r.f* here and below, l. 5, *sdm* is not the endingless passive, which hardly existed in Late Egyptian and was, at any case, not used after *bn* with future meaning. Probably emend  as suggested by the abnormal hieratic P. Louvre 3228 C, 24 (Revellout, *Quelques textes démotiques archaïques*, unnumbered, pl. 4):  and by a practically identical sentence to be quoted immediately. The sense is not that no explanatory deposition shall be required from Kḥnhkhopshēf in future, but that no declaration of any descendant of Kha'em-nūn will be listened to by any court. The latter interpretation is guaranteed by the passage in the unpubl. abnormal hieratic P. Louvre 3228 E, ll. 8-9:  (9)  'As for him who will contest (it) his deposition shall not be listened to in any office.'


f (5).  is a proper name, Ranke, *Die äg. Personennamen*, 334, No. 17; the role of a 'wife of Kḥn' here is, however, a puzzle; could Kḥn be short for Kḥnhkhopshēf?




g (5).  is quite clearly written and, wholly abnormal as is the corruption,  (or ) must undoubtedly be understood.





h (7). *Iw iw.f irt*. This construction occurs elsewhere, see Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxi, 13, n. 3, and again *JEA* xix, 27, n. 15, but the exact grammatical meaning is not quite clear here.

i (8).  'income in grain' also O. Dēr el-Medīnah Cat. 108, 7, where I have mistranscribed the word. The passage should read:  'And the income in grain which Ēse . . . has provided for me (shall belong, *sc. iw.f*) to Mekhayeb.'

j (8). Interpreting  as , cf. above p. 33, n. k, though a future use of *ir.f sdm* without a stressed adverbial predicate (see above p. 34, n. u) can hardly be paralleled. The alternative, always assuming the text to be correct, would be to take  as the infinitive, strange as the form would then be. In that case *irt* could not be an auxiliary, for auxiliaries were never used in the infinitive, the reason being that all verbs had infinitives of their own, while the auxiliary *iri* replaced only those verbal forms which had been lost. Therefore *nḥm*, which would be the object of *irt*, could not be an infinitive, but would have to be another nominal form, presumably a participle. The translation thus obtained 'in order to act as one who has taken away this reward (?) of mine' would certainly be in the highest degree forced. Moreover, it would imply that Kha'em-nūn accepted the possibility of Kḥnhkhopshēf taking away his grain-ration and that in that case he demanded no compensation for himself—all that Kḥnhkhopshēf would have to do being to indemnify his two brothers for all the trouble they had had in causing to be drawn up in favour of their father a document to which Kḥnhkhopshēf had not given effect. The fact that the washing-bowl is termed *mtwn* in I, 3, 4 makes it certain that it is the same object as was meant by *mtwn* here, and this could be taken away from Kḥnhkhopshēf only if he failed to pay the grain-ration.

k (8). The word *mtwn* has been discussed above in n. l on I, 3, 4. *Ink* again shows that  'this' should be understood as in I, 4, 8.

l (8). A verb must have been omitted after *iw.f hr*; probably supply . After a protasis with  future meaning is required in the apodosis. The 


⟨⟩ is therefore to be understood as for *iw·i r* ⟨*dīt*⟩. The latter is usually written only  in texts of this kind, but  is often supplied wrongly in constructions where it has never been, though—it must be pointed out—this faulty substitution is again restricted to literary texts. So also probably  in the next line, with the change of person common in oaths (see n. *jj* on I, 5, 12).

m (9). Read, of course, ⟨*n*⟩ *rmt-ist* and ⟨*r*⟩ *db*.


D. Commentary




The business connected with Naunakhte carries us back to the reign of Ramesses Skheperenrē,¹ a little-known king of the XXth Dynasty, who is believed to have been the second successor of Ramesses III and whom we consequently count as Ramesses V. He reigned scarcely more than 4 years² and his memory was not respected by his successor, Ramesses (VI) Nebma'rē, who usurped his tomb in the Valley of Kings, obliterating his name everywhere (Leps., *Denkm.*, Text, III, 201–3).

Document I forms a most welcome addition to our stock of documents relating to testaments. Only two other testaments³ dating from the New Kingdom have been known so far.⁴ The present one—unlike modern testaments written or at least signed by the testator—follows the pattern of all Egyptian legal documents; like them it consists of an oral deposition made by the party before the court or witnesses and written down by a professional scribe. Thus it was not the written word alone, but the spoken word subsequently recorded as an actual event on a papyrus or ostrakon that conferred upon the document its legal validity.⁵

The court before which the testamentary deposition was made consisted of 14 persons, all of them employed on the work at the King's Tomb. There were two chief workmen, 2 scribes, 2 draughtsmen, 6 ordinary workmen, and 2 district officers. It was only a small court, probably corresponding to the private character of the business. Matters of public importance, like the slander spread by 3 workmen and a woman to the effect that the chief workman Ḥay had uttered abuse of King Sethos II, came before a larger court; in the slander case here alluded to the court consisted of the second chief workman Penēb, 11 ordinary workmen cited by name, and  'the body of workmen in its entirety'.⁶

¹ On him see Peet, *JEA* XIV, 52 ff. Documents bearing his name are listed in Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois* III, 191–4; add to these O. Cairo (*Cat. gén.*, Černý) 25598, *vs.* A, 3; encomium on the *vs.* of P. Chester Beatty I, sect. B (Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. I, pls. XIX–XXI); also Text A of the great Wilbour papyrus.

² Year 4 is the highest attested for his reign by P. Turin (P. & R.) LIV, 13–14 (see Peet, *JEA* X, 119 on this) and O. Turin published by Maspero, *Rec. trav.* II (1880), 117. In O. Cairo Cat. 25598, *vs.* A, 2–4  (3)

 is immediately followed by  (4)  showing that the interval between year 3 (or 4?) of Ramesses V and year 1 of Ramesses VI could not have been very long.

³ Stela of Senimose *Urk* IV, 1065–70 (temp. Tuthmosis III) and O. Dēr el-Medīnah Cat. 108 (from the reign of Sethos I).

⁴ From the Old Kingdom we have the testament of Wepemnofret, Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1930–1931*, pl. facing p. 190 and pls. 74–6; from the Middle Kingdom the well-known *Pap. Kahun*, pls. 11–13.

⁵ On these features see Spiegelberg, *Der Ursprung und das Wesen der Formelsprache der demotischen Urkunden in Ägyptologische Mitteilungen (Sitzungsb. München, 1925, 25–35)*.

⁶ O. Cairo Cat. 25556 (formerly J.49887) discussed in *Ann. Serv.* XXVII, 200–5; *op. cit.*, 204 sets forth the composition of the *knbt* on three other occasions.

The two chief workmen named in the will of Naunakhte occur together in l. 20 of the unpublished continuation of Pleyte and Rossi, *Pap. Turin*, pl. 33, dated in year 6 of Ramesses IV. To Anḥerkhēw belongs the beautiful tomb No. 359 at Dēr el-Medīnah famous in the early days of Egyptology for its representation of a series of kings, then lost sight of and re-excavated by the French Institute in 1930.¹ Anḥerkhēw had held the office since the latter part of the reign of Ramesses III² and was succeeded by his son Ḥarmose, possibly in the early years of Ramesses IX. His colleague in the office, Nekhemmut, whom we know to have been a son of the chief workman Khons, was probably younger, though named first in the list of the members of the court; this is presumably because he was the chief workman in charge of the 'right side' of the body of Royal workmen, while the 'left side' was under the command of Anḥerkhēw; the 'right side' seems to have taken precedence in such matters. In year 24 of Ramesses III, when Anḥerkhēw was already in office, the other chief workman was still Khons, Nekhemmut's father. But Nekhemmut was still at the head of his 'right side' years after Anḥerkhēw's death, and was there still in the year 16 of Ramesses IX so famous for the robberies in the Royal Tombs and the subsequent trials of the thieves (P. Abbott 6, 5).

The two scribes, Amennakht and Ḥarshīre, father and son, belonged to a well-known family of scribes of the King's Tomb and are met with in many papyri and ostraca.³ Amennakht was appointed scribe of the King's Tomb in year 16 of Ramesses III, but the exact date of his death is unknown; it was Ḥarshīre who, together with another scribe, in year 16 of Ramesses IX denounced to the Mayor of Thebes the thefts committed in the Royal Necropolis.

The draughtsman Amenhotp had advanced to the rank of a 'chief draughtsman' by year 17 of Ramesses IX⁴; the workmen Telmont, To, Amenpeḥāpi and Nebnūfe, son of Khons, occur in various documents of the first half of the XXth Dynasty,⁵ the other Nebnūfe (mentioned I, 1, 15) cannot be identified in view of the extreme frequency of the name at this period.

The 'district officers' (*wrtw*) seem to have been always two in number,⁶ but it is not known wherein their activity consisted and the two named in Document I apparently do not occur elsewhere in published texts.

¹ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médīneh* (1930), 33 ff.

² See some references for this and the following in *Rev. Ég. anc.*, II, 203, nn. 1. 2.

³ See the summary of my Brussels lecture in *Chron. d'Ég.* XI (1936), 247-8. In view of the present document it is necessary to correct my contention that Ḥarshīre was only a 'draughtsman' during the lifetime of his father.

⁴ Botti & Peet, *Giornale*, 10, 2; also already in year 15, loc. cit., 29, 5. Without date O. Cairo Cat. 25607, 1 (still only 'draughtsman').

⁵ Two of them occur in the list of workmen from the end of the reign of Ramesses III and the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV compiled in *ZÄS* LXXII, 115-16. There we find To (No. 27) and Ūsiḥē (No. 15). For Telmont see e.g. Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, *Cat. gén.*, Index, p. 119; Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori della Miss. it. in Egitto*, I, fig. 132, 2 (year 24 of Ramesses III); for Amenpeḥāpi, Černý, op. cit., p. 104. Nebnūfe, son of Khons, is found again (e.g.) in ll. 7-8 of an unpublished account discovered at the same time as Documents Nos. II and III.

⁶ Houses of another couple of 'district officers', Anynakht and Amenkhēw, at a later period are mentioned in P. Brit. Mus. 10068, vs. 3, 8, 9.

To turn now to the chief party of the document, the lady Naunakhte.¹ She bears the simple title of 'citoyenne' $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ which at this time was given to all free women who were not in service and were consequently not $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ *hmt* 'slaves'.² In her opening words she stated that she was a *nmh* 'free-woman'; this was probably of importance as giving her the right of disposal over her property.

It would be utterly impossible to understand her testamentary dispositions without realizing from the start that she was married twice and that the children with whom her will is concerned were not those of her first husband, the scribe *Ḳenḥikhopshef*, but had been borne by her to her second husband, the workman *Kha'emnūn*. This state of affairs is not very clearly expressed in the will itself, but indeed it did not need to be, since the local court before which Naunakhte made her legal declaration was fully acquainted with her family relationships.

That the scribe *Ḳenḥikhopshef* was Naunakhte's husband appears from her own words (I, 4, 9). He can be none other than the scribe of that name who was concerned with the work on the King's Tomb in the second half of the reign of *Ramesses II*, again under *Meneptah*, and also in the short reigns of the latter's successors.³ Whether, and if so how long, he lived on into the reign of *Ramesses III* we are unable to tell, but a man of his importance, if still alive, could not have failed to appear in the numerous documents we possess from the end of the reign of *Ramesses III* and onwards. Since, however, he is totally absent there, we may safely assume that he was already dead by the last years of *Ramesses III*.

Naunakhte herself must have been old at that time. As such she was entitled to expect some support from her children, of whom she had eight and whom she, according to her words, not only had brought up, but to whom when they were leaving their parents' house to get married and to found (*grg*) homes (*pr*) of their own, she had given the necessary equipment (*grg-pr*). The statement of Herodotus that sons were free to support their aged parents if they wished, but that for daughters it was obligatory,⁴ may possibly be inexact or may not have come into force as early as the *Ramesside* period. However this may be, Naunakhte's will shows that children's behaviour towards their parents was permitted to influence the attitude of the latter when disposing of their property. It possibly points in the same direction that the children in

¹ The name means 'Thebes is victorious'. The word $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ *niwt* stood there in its construct form which probably sounded *nau-*, see Erman, *ZÄS* xxxviii, 130, n. 4, where it was pointed out that in the Naucratis stela $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ serves to write *Nav-* in the name of that town.

² Wives of workmen of the King's Tomb are called *nh-n-niwt* in P. Salt, 2, 2-3 (*JEA* xv, pl. 43); *Pap. Boulaq* 10, 2, 6; vs. 9 (transcription in Spiegelberg, *Studien und Mat. zum Rechtswesen*. 16-20); P. Brit. Mus. 10053, 2, 18; 5, 6, 10. In the last-named papyrus the only other feminine title that occurs is *hmt* 'slave' (5, 9; 6, 9; 7, 4); other women are all *nh-n-niwt*. Their husbands are either not specified (2, 19; 4, 12; 6, 3, 4), or are a scribe (1, 9), washerman (5, 15), priest (6, 6), carpenter (7, 8), or an employee of *Pr-dwi-ntr* of Amūn (4, 20). Only one *nh-n-niwt* is said to be *m-drt* 'in the hand' of a workman of the King's Tomb (3, 15), therefore presumably not free, unless *m-drt* here, as often, stands for *mdt* 'with', in which case it would simply mean that the woman in question was the workman's wife and lived 'with' him.

³ See on him my *Ostraca hiératiques*, *Cat. gén.*, Index, p. 118; Spiegelberg, *Thebanische Graffiti*, Index, No. 397 (possibly identical with Nos. 396 and 398).

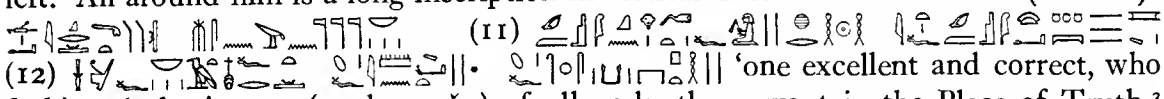
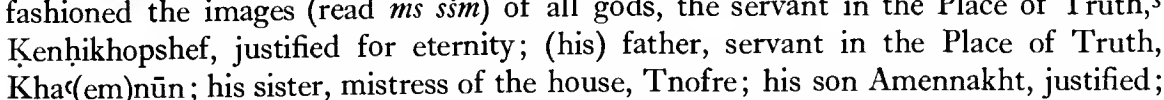
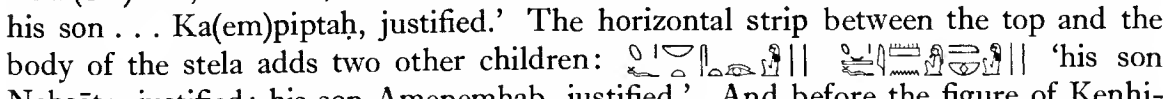
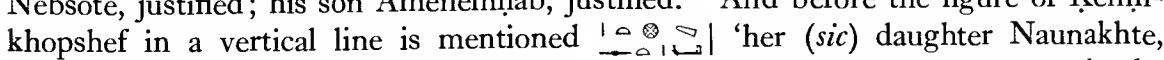
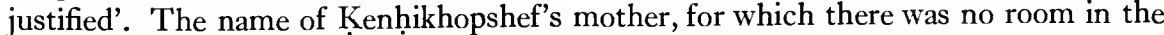
⁴ Hdt. II, 35: 'sons need not support their parents unless they choose, but daughters must, whether they choose or not.'

the Adoption papyrus (*JEA* xxvi, 23 ff.) are said to have behaved well to their adoptive mother.

It is strange that Naunakhte, though a free woman, presents her children to the court as 'these eight servants of yours'. In so doing she uses a word (*bꜥk*) which denotes a dependent person or even a slave.¹ One would expect the children of a free woman to be free likewise. But perhaps Naunakhte meant no more than to describe her children as the obedient servants of the authorities sitting in the court, just as the phrase *bꜥk im* 'the servant there' was employed to designate the writer of a letter. Among her eight children there were four sons, Maaynakhtef, *Ḳenḥikhopshef*, Amenakht, and Neferḥotp, and four daughters, Wosnakhte, Manʿenakhte, Ḥenshēne, and Khaʿnub.

So far, everything seems plain and clear. A difficulty arises suddenly when, after Naunakhte's declaration, I, 4, 3 that the bad children are to inherit from the two-thirds of 'their father', we read only a few lines farther on (I, 4, 9-12) that they are *not* to inherit from the scribe *Ḳenḥikhopshef*. From this it follows necessarily, if the text is correct, that the scribe *Ḳenḥikhopshef* was not their father. This position is confirmed by the passage I, 5, 9 ff., where the children who, at a later date, *again* approached the court, are said to be the children of Khaʿemnūn. It must, therefore, be Khaʿemnūn who is referred to as 'their father' also in I, 4, 3, the $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{3}$ arrangement there being that of Naunakhte's second marriage.

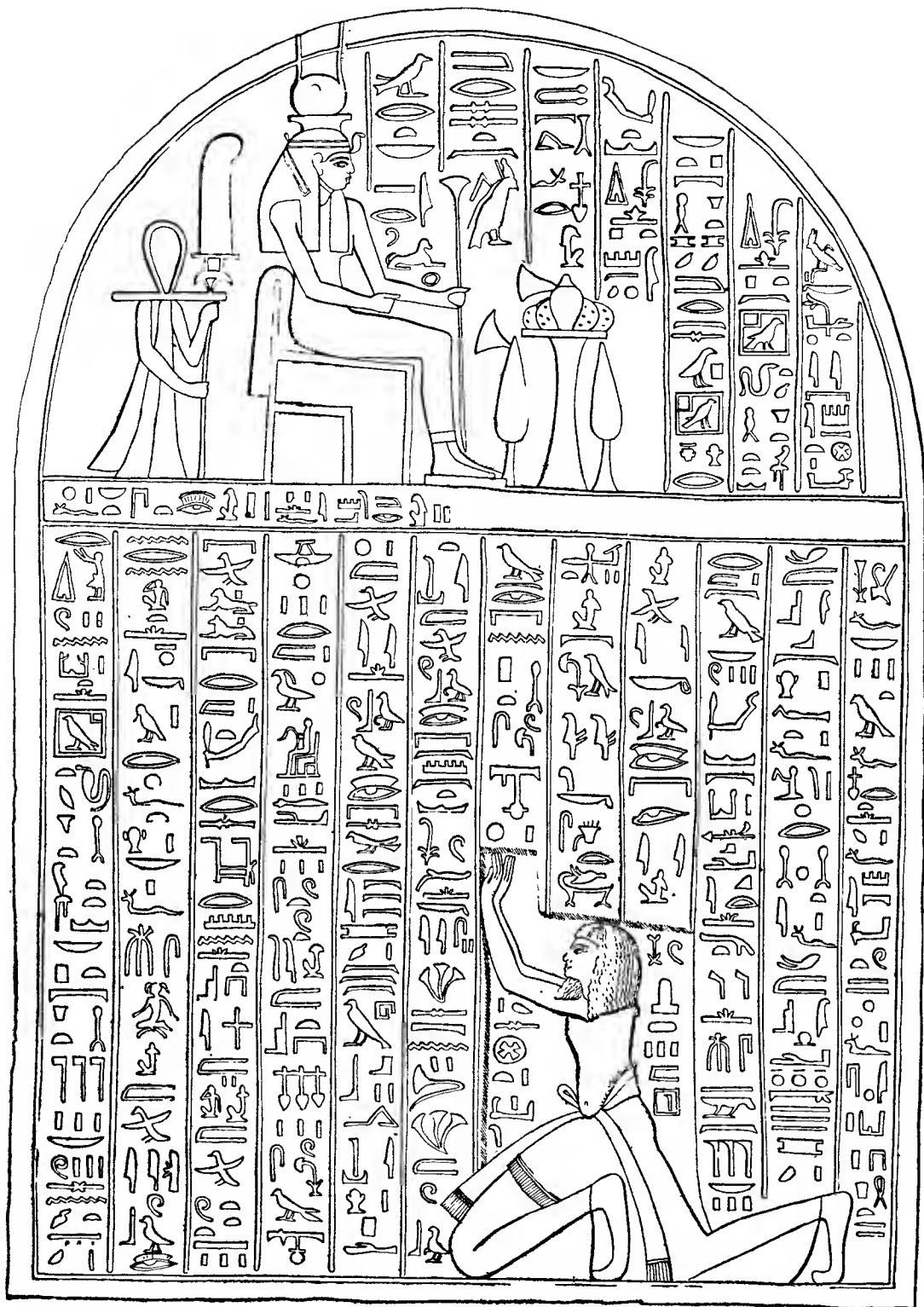
The facts as here stated, being revealed only by close study of the papyrus, would still be suspect, were they not confirmed independently by two documents of an entirely different character.

The first of these documents is the Brit. Mus. stela 278 (see the fig. p. 46)² There the goddess Ḥathōr represented in the rounded top is adored below by a kneeling man facing left. All around him is a long inscription in vertical lines which names him (ll. 10 ff.):
 (11) 
 (12)  'one excellent and correct, who fashioned the images (read *ms sšm*) of all gods, the servant in the Place of Truth,³ *Ḳenḥikhopshef*, justified for eternity; (his) father, servant in the Place of Truth, Khaʿ(em)nūn; his sister, mistress of the house, Tnofre; his son Amennakht, justified; his son . . . Ka(em)piptah, justified.' The horizontal strip between the top and the body of the stela adds two other children:  'his son Nebsōte, justified; his son Amenemḥab, justified.' And before the figure of *Ḳenḥikhopshef* in a vertical line is mentioned  'her (*sic*) daughter Naunakhte, justified'. The name of *Ḳenḥikhopshef*'s mother, for which there was no room in the

¹ See Adoption papyrus, vs. 5-7.

² Published in E. Hawkins, *Tablets and Other Egyptian Monuments from the Collection of the Earl of Belmore* (London, 1843), pl. 4. The publication being rather rare, its plate is here reproduced without any change. The photograph in Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh*, p. 25, is indistinct, and his line-drawing (loc. cit., p. 23) was not made from the original, but is a mere interpretation of the photograph. Here some use has been made of a collation, but it seemed unnecessary to reproduce in type all the irregularities of the original.

³ Read *sdm-ꜥš*. For a demonstration of identity of the 'servants in the Place of Truth' with the 'men of the gang of the King's Tomb', see *Rev. Ég. anc.* 11, 200-9.

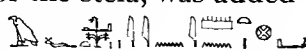


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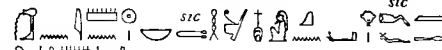
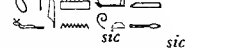
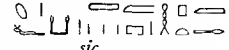


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STONE TABLET FOUND IN A TOMB AT THEBES. 1818.

Same size as the Original In the Collection of the Earl of Belmore.



vertical lines in the body of the stela, was added in the rounded top to the right of the goddess and her epithets:  'his mother, the songstress of Amūn, Naunakhte'.

The other document is the Theban graffito No. 803, corroborated by three others of nearly identical wording (Nos. 830, 868, 869b),¹ which reads:

- (1)  ^{sic}
 (2)  ^{sic}
 (3)  ^{sic}
 (4)  ^{sic}
 (5)  ^{sic}
 (6)  ^{sic}

'(1) The *wērb*-priest of Amon-rē, the master of good encounter, Kenhikhopshef, justified; (2) his son Amennakht, justified; (3) his son Kaemiptah, justified; (4) his son Nebsōte, justified; (5) his son Ptaḥpeḥaʿpi, justified; (6) (his) father, the servant in the Place of Truth, Khaʿ(em)nūn, justified.'

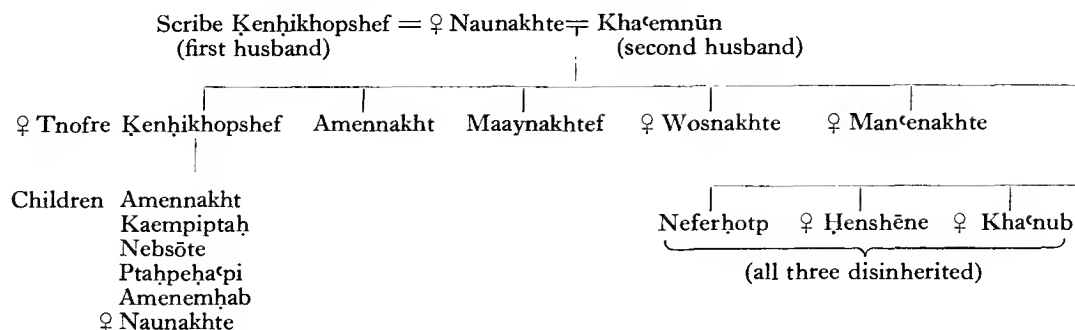
That the Kenhikhopshef of the Brit. Mus. stela 278 is identical with the man of the same name in the graffiti above mentioned is guaranteed by the names of the sons Amennakht, Kaemiptah and Nebsōte occurring both on the stela and in the graffiti, while Ptaḥpeḥaʿpi occurs only in graffiti, and Amenemḥab, as well as a daughter Naunakhte, only on the stela. According to all these documents Kenhikhopshef was a son of Khaʿemnūn and the Brit. Mus. stela names Naunakhte as his mother. Since in the testament too Kenhikhopshef is one of Naunakhte's children, the only possible deduction is that Khaʿemnūn must have been Naunakhte's husband. As she herself, however, names the scribe Kenhikhopshef as her husband (I, 4, 9), Khaʿemnūn must have been her second one, a circumstance which she supposed was known to everyone, including the members of the court, and which she consequently did not consider worth mentioning. It is not a serious difficulty that Kenhikhopshef of the graffiti is not called a 'workman', but a '*wērb*-priest', since to be a 'workman' did not exclude a man from being '*wērb*-priest' at the same time. The title of '*wērb*-priest' is often applied to laymen who, having undergone purification, assumed a temporary priestly function, usually as carriers of the bark of a god during festivals.

It is piquant to observe that the hieroglyphic graffito No. 803 of Kenhikhopshef, son of Khaʿemnūn, as Spiegelberg's facsimile clearly shows, is incised over an earlier one in hieratic written by (1)  (2)  'scribe in the Place of Truth Ken(hi)khopshef, (his) father Pnakhte'. The scribe here named was certainly identical with the scribe Kenhikhopshef, Naunakhte's first husband. Nor can it have been unintentional that Naunakhte's son by the second marriage should thus have obliterated the name of his stepfather, though this is not necessarily a sign of ill-feeling towards him. It is surely a proof of the kindly recollection of himself which the scribe Kenhikhopshef left in the family that Naunakhte's favourite son bore the name of her *first* husband. This identity of name cannot be adduced as evidence that Kenhikhopshef was a son by the first marriage, since children were seldom called

¹ All published in Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti aus der Thebanischen Nekropolis*.

after their parents, though often after their grandparents, and there is no indication at all that the workman *Ḳenḥikhopshef* was a grandson of the scribe *Ḳenḥikhopshef*.

Combining the information afforded by all our sources we can, therefore, confidently build up the following genealogy of the family, using ♀ to indicate females.



If additional confirmation were needed to show that *Naunakhte*'s sons mentioned in her last will were by her second marriage with *Khaʿemnūn*, and not by that with the scribe *Ḳenḥikhopshef*, there is the colophon of the Chester Beatty Dream-book;¹ this reads: 'Made by the scribe Amennakht, the son of *Khaʿ(em)nūn* and brother of the carpenter *Neferhotp*, of the carpenter *Ḳen(ḥi)khopshef* and of the scribe *Pma . . .*' Here three brothers, the first of whom is called a son of *Khaʿemnūn*, bear the same names as three of the sons of *Naunakhte*, while the fourth whose name is partly destroyed, *Pma . . .*, reminds one of the name of *Naunakhte*'s son *Maa(y)nakhtef*. It is probable that the damaged name should be restored as *Pma[aynakhtef]*. The fact that two of the persons in the colophon bear the title 'scribe' and two others that of 'carpenter' is no obstacle in the way of the identification; 'scribe' may here mean not the regular occupation, but may merely testify to an acquaintance with writing; and 'carpenter' among these people seems to have been only a designation of persons otherwise included among the 'men of the gang of the King's Tomb'.

The statement of *Naunakhte* consists of two parts. In the first, after having declared her intention to bequeath only to those of her children who had supported her in her old age, she enumerated the names of those whom she wished to inherit from her. These were *Maaynakhtef*, *Ḳenḥikhopshef*, *Amennakht*, *Wosnakhte*, and *Manʿenakhte*. In the second part she named the children to be excluded from the heritage: these were *Neferhotp*, *Manʿenakhte*, *Ḥenshēne*, and *Khaʿnub*.

Manʿenakhte thus appears in both portions of *Naunakhte*'s statement. The reason is clear from I, 3, 8–11: *Manʿenakhte* was to inherit from her property, but she was to be excluded from inheriting the *oiḗpe* of emmer and the *hin* of fat which *Naunakhte*'s good sons *Maaynakhtef*, *Ḳenḥikhopshef*, and *Amennakht*, together with her daughter *Wosnakhte*, had given her. The *oiḗpe* of emmer here is that of which *Naunakhte* says later (I, 4, 11–12) that she had 'collected' (*nwy*) it with her husband. We must imagine that she and her husband received a part—probably a quarter—from each of the four children. Which of her successive husbands, *Ḳenḥikhopshef* or *Khaʿemnūn*, had

¹ P. Chester Beatty III, rt. 10, 20–3, in *Hierat. Pap. Brit. Mus.*, III, Pl. 8, with p. 8.

benefited by this emmer and fat she does not expressly say, but the sense points clearly to the latter, since these commodities were certainly the subsidy afforded by her good children and referred to in the opening sentences of her statement. She there implied that this subsidy was intended as a help to her in her old age, and consequently the words 'my husband' can only refer to that husband of hers who was then living, namely Kha'emnūn, the father of the children.

An *oipe* is only a small quantity, amounting to 40 *hin*, i.e. about 18 litres or a little short of 4 gallons. This was certainly not given on a single occasion only, but together with the *hin* of fat was a fixed monthly ration. It is absurd to suppose that Naunakhte would have kept one *oipe* of grain and one *hin* of fat for any considerable period in order to include them in the heritage; but that her *oipe* of grain and *hin* of fat were included in that heritage is shown by Mant'enakhte's exclusion from any share in them (I, 3, 9). Clearly the grain and the fat were willed by Naunakhte to go solely to those children from whom she was wont to obtain them. The situation thus was that the payment of the ration was to cease at her death, and that Man'enakhte, though otherwise to be treated as one of the good children, could not base any claim to compensation on its cessation, having herself contributed nothing towards it.

The reason why Naunakhte's will singled out her son Ḳenḥikhopshef for special favour is obscure; perhaps he was her eldest or had proved the most deserving among the children. Be this as it may, the will stipulated that he should receive, in addition to his equal fifth share in the property, a bronze washing-bowl which, in the conditions under which these people lived, was evidently an article of considerable value. In the Twentieth Dynasty bronze and copper were the only metals circulating in that village of the Valley of Dēr el-Medīnah, silver and gold being almost unknown. Payments were there effected by the transfer of particular objects valued in copper or in grain.

Naunakhte's disinheritance of her bad children was restricted by an explicit proviso of her will (I, 4, 1 ff.): she could disinherit them only in respect of that part of her property over which she had the right of free disposal. This part she calls (I, 4, 2) 'my one-third', and the passage in question, taken in conjunction with P. Turin 2021 (see *JEA* XIII, 30 ff.), suggests that at this period married couples were in the habit of creating a common property to which the husband contributed two-thirds and the wife one-third, each of the parties having right of disposal, on dissolution of the marriage by death or divorce, only over the part contributed by himself or herself.¹ Consequently, in the present case the bad children could not be prevented by their mother from inheriting what she terms 'the two-thirds of their father'. The evidence at our disposal is insufficient to give an entirely clear picture of the circumstances. That, however, Naunakhte had inherited from the scribe Ḳenḥikhopshef, her first husband, at his death, is plainly implied in I, 4, 9-12, where we are told that the bad children were to be excluded from inheriting any of his property. Did she then, on marrying Kha'emnūn, bring to him only the original one-third of the first marriage, which probably included 'this store-room' of her father? Again we are left wondering how it was that Kha'emnūn, who appears to have been a relatively poor man, could have found the means to

¹ See *Bull. inst. fr.*, xxxvii, 41-8.

contribute his portion of two-thirds. Nor again are we informed as to who, after Naunakhte's death, was to inherit the scribe Kēnhikhopshef's movable (*ḥt*) and real (*swt*) property. Finally it may seem strange that a woman who had eight children by her second marriage should have had none by her first, for no children of the scribe Kēnhikhopshef are mentioned at all. But possibly he married Naunakhte when advanced in years and died shortly afterwards. This would, of course, not rule out the possibility of his having had children by a previous marriage and of some of them being still alive.

In I, 5, 1-2 it is expressly stated that all the eight children, i.e. the bad and the good alike, are to inherit from their father (Kha'emnūn), and in the immediately following concluding lines of Naunakhte's declaration (5, 3-7), though separated by a blank space from the preceding 5, 1-2, it looks at first sight as if the pronoun 'he' must likewise refer to Kha'emnūn. Here mention is made of various copper objects, to the value of 40 *debens* in all, which were given to 'him' by Naunakhte in order that he might buy himself bread. In the last line (I, 5, 7) it is said that 'he' is to have no share in any further copper (objects), but that these are to go to his brothers and sisters. On the hypothesis that 'he' in these five lines is Kha'emnūn, here we find for the first time a reference to brothers and sisters of his, and it is utterly obscure who they were or how Naunakhte could have had power to decide what they were or were not to inherit. Everything, on the other hand, becomes clear if we interpret the pronoun 'he' in these lines as referring to Neferhotp. We should then find a rational explanation for his disinheritance—and that he was the principal person disinherited is emphasized by his sole mention in the postscript (I, 5, 11). He was either a ne'er-do-well or incompetent for some other reason, so that his mother had had to support him by gifts of copper vessels which he had converted into food. It is admittedly an extreme measure which the reader is called upon to take in interpreting the pronoun *f* as referring not to Kha'emnūn, who was indicated in 5, 1-2, but to Neferhotp, who had not been mentioned again since I, 4, 4. But we have seen in the omission of the all-important word 'not' how confusedly and inaccurately the scribe Amennakht could express himself. There are great advantages from taking the view here proposed. Not only is the word *snw*—this means not 'brothers' alone, but 'brothers and sisters'—fully explained, but also the talk about their inheriting the two-thirds share of their father becomes intelligible. Had Kha'emnūn been so poor that his wife was compelled to support him, the two-thirds share just referred to must surely have amounted to nothing or next to nothing. It is also important to notice that the beginning of this last section, i.e. I, 5, 3, is placed at approximately the same height¹ as I, 4, 4, where the name of the workman Neferhotp is mentioned. On realizing this one becomes even more convinced that the whole section was intended as a supplement to be read in connexion with Neferhotp, and this also explains why it is separated by a blank from the preceding first two lines of col. 5.

It turns out eventually that the only totally disinherited children—since Neferhotp had received compensation in copper objects and Man'enakhte figures as a limited heir in I, 3, 7 foll.—were the two daughters Henshēne and Kha'nub. These evidently were

¹ Actually I, 5, 3 stands a little lower than I, 4, 4.



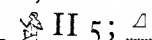
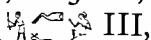
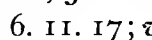
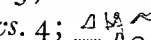
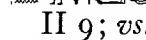
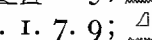

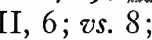
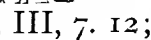
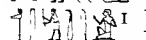
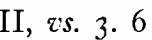
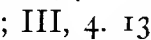
the two daughters of whom Naunakhte had to complain most for having given her no aid in her old age. The fact lends some colour to the above-mentioned statement of Herodotus that daughters had an obligation to support their parents, whilst support on the part of sons was only voluntary.

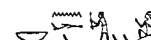
The postscript written in a different hand and added at the end of Naunakhte's will (I, 5, 9—6, 5) would be quite incomprehensible without admitting the existence of the second marriage and the fact that the second husband was the father of her children. Otherwise it would be impossible to understand why 'the workman Kha'emnūn with his children' appeared before a court of law to declare that they would raise no objections to the execution of the testament and to the exclusion of the workman Neferhotp from the inheritance. We glean that Kha'emnūn had very few rights of his own and that his main function was to express approval of all Naunakhte's arrangements. This can best be explained by the assumption that, whereas the first husband, Khenhikhopshef, was a scribe and a well-to-do man, Kha'emnūn was a mere workman whose earnings were only just sufficient to enable him to keep wife and children, and who did not otherwise contribute to the wealth of the family, at least as regards furniture and property in land.

The date of the postscript is in year 4 without indication of the king, but probably the reign was still that of Ramesses V, to whose third year the main document belongs. Without knowing the precise date of Ramesses V's accession to the throne it is impossible to calculate the exact interval between these two sections of the writing. The maximum would be 712 days, the minimum, if the date of accession fell on the third month of the Inundation season, day 17, would be 347 days. In either case it is extremely probable that Naunakhte was still alive; she will have thought it important to make sure of the family's consent as early as possible.



The date of Naunakhte's death will probably never be known, but the two lists in Documents II and III clearly date from a time after her death when her children came to her home to divide up her property among themselves. The wording of the two documents is nearly identical, but No. III is longer, containing at the end a section missing from No. II. The latter is also much less carefully written and horizontal lines separate sections of the list which in No. III are each time headed by the words 'Again, another division'. We may, therefore, perhaps consider No. II as the preliminary draft, whereas No. III was the final record augmented by an additional section for which there was no room in No. II. No III contains six sections, each corresponding to a separate 'division'. We may, therefore, picture the five heirs paying six visits to their mother's house, and on each occasion dividing up a set of objects of approximately equal value. The property left by Naunakhte to her heirs was of little value; the names of such objects as can be identified and the determinatives of those objects that are unknown (☐ stone, 𓏏 wood, and 𓏏 wicker-work) show it to have consisted of pieces of furniture and kitchen utensils. Had it not been for the few metal objects mentioned in Naunakhte's declaration, the most valuable piece of property—as Dr. Gardiner once put it—would certainly have been the papyrus on which her testamentary arrangements were written.




The five heirs named in the lists are precisely those enumerated in I, 3, 1-11 as the 'workmen and women to whom she gave,' namely:

 II, 2. 8. 12; vs. 5. 10; III, 3. 10. 15; vs. 2. 8. 13;
 II 5;  III, 6. 11. 17; vs. 4;  III, vs. 7; 
 II 9; vs. 1. 7. 9;  III, vs. 14;
 II, 6; vs. 8; III, 7. 12;  II, 11; vs. 2. 13; III, 18; vs. 5. 11. 15;
 II, vs. 3. 6; III, 4. 13; vs. 3. 9. 17;  III, 19;  II, 3;²
 II, 4. 7;  II, vs. 4; III, 5. 9. 16; vs. 1. 10. 16; 
 II, 13, vs. 12.

Beside these list II introduces on two occasions a man  Nebnakht (II, 10; vs. 11), whose name, however, is replaced in III by that of the woman Wosnakhte. We may guess that Nebnakht was Wosnakhte's husband, and that he came twice to fetch objects from the 'division'; his name figures only in the original draft (No. II), but the name of the lawful heiress Wosnakhte was substituted for his in the final form of the list.

The consideration of Document No. IV has been left to the last, for it might at first be doubted whether that document has any connexion with the heritage of Naunakhte, though it is quite certain that the workman Kha'emnūn and his son Ḳenḥikhopshef, as well as two other persons, Amennakht and Maaynakhtef, occurring in IV, 9, are the same persons as those mentioned in I-III. The connecting link between the group of the first three documents and IV is the 'washing-bowl' with which No. IV is mainly concerned and which must surely be identical with the 'washing-bowl' of I, 3, 4. There, however, it was said to be given to Ḳen(hi)khopshef by Naunakhte, while in IV Kha'emnūn seems to be the giver, unless Kha'emnūn here, as in the Postscript of No. I, merely assents to the gift. But if we consider the facts (1) that it was given to the same man in both cases, and (2) that it was in both cases termed a *mtwn*—whatever that word signifies—these are surely sufficient proof of the identity of the vessel. The expression *iwf n* in IV, 3 means hardly more than a declaration that the washing-bowl was to go to Ḳenḥikhopshef on Naunakhte's death. The situation, therefore, seems to be that Naunakhte gave it first to Kha'emnūn for use and in her last will stipulated that she had bequeathed it to Ḳenḥikhopshef. If so, Kha'emnūn was under an obligation to hand it over to him, which he first promised to do in his declaration before the court in the early part of IV, while later, in the second part, the actual handing over to Ḳenḥikhopshef is recorded. In both depositions Kha'emnūn declares that no other son or daughter of his shall ever be entitled to lay claim to the vessel, thus clearly admitting that he had himself no rights over it. The weight of the washing-bowl was 13 *debens* of copper and the commercial value, consequently, at least that amount. This is more than double the price of the 2¼ *khar* of grain which Ḳenḥikhopshef undertook to give in return to Kha'emnūn, the price of

¹ Note that in both lists  is never used, and is always replaced, if any determinative is present at all, by .

² The spelling with  (and varr.) of the proper name 'Wst is victorious' is interesting and throws some light on the vocalization of the name of Thebes *Wst*. For similar confusion cf. the use of  to write  *wys* 'welfare' and other words, Sethe, *ZAS* xxxviii, 143 f.

one *khar* of barley being at that time $2\frac{1}{3}$ *debens*, while that of emmer was 2 *debens*.¹ Expressed in emmer 13 *debens* of copper are equal to $6\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*, i.e. 26 *oipe* of emmer. It is, therefore, clear that what Kēnhikhopshef meant was a regular payment of $2\frac{3}{4}$ *khar* over a certain period. This is confirmed by his further allusion to the payment by the word Δ 𓂏 , this being the well-known term for the income in grain in which workmen were paid in Pharaonic times.

Among the workmen present at Kha'emnūn's depositions concerning the washing-bowl there were all the three other sons of Kha'emnūn, i.e. Neferhotp, Amennakht, and Maaynakhtef at the first declaration; Maaynakhtef is missing at the second, but there is Nebnakht, who was somehow connected with the family (cf. above, p. 52). The number of witnesses was seven in the first case, in the second they are six, but Kha'emnūn himself (*r hctf*) acts as a seventh witness. This second declaration is dated 'year 3, third month of the Inundation season, day 20'. It may refer to Ramesses VI, the successor of Ramesses V, or else to Ramesses V himself. In the latter case the date would not necessarily precede that of Naunakhte's last will dated in the same year 'fourth month of the Inundation season, day 5'. Here again we are unable to decide, owing to our ignorance of the date of Ramesses V's accession to the throne.

There remains much that is still obscure in the details of all this testamentary business. Some difficulties may possibly be dissipated when the mass of materials collected by the present writer concerning the workmen of the Royal Tomb becomes available again, but for others the discovery of further documents bearing upon the subject is indispensable.

¹ See my article in *Arch. Orient* vi, 174 f. The unpublished Berlin ostrakon from which this information is drawn (Nos. 6 and 14 of the article) names the workmen Usihē and Maaynakhtef, both of them occurring in Naunakhte's last will.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the above was written, Documents I and IV have been presented to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

A TENTATIVE IDENTIFICATION OF THREE OLD KINGDOM SCULPTURES

By JOHN D. COONEY

ABOUT seven years ago there appeared on the European market three life-size Egyptian sculptures of the Old Kingdom, each minus its head and feet and bearing no inscription. The dealer who first acquired the sculptures stated that they were from Gīzah; no other information was available. One statue was of a woman and was purchased by the Worcester Art Museum. The other two, of men, were soon acquired by the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, and by the Brooklyn Museum. Each has been published,¹ but as these sculptures appear to me to be related to each other, the re-publication in pl. I seems warranted, particularly as there is a chance that they can now be identified.²

In my publication of the Brooklyn sculpture I suggested that it formed the right end of a triad, as the right side is completely finished, the left clearly having been attached to another sculpture. The Worcester statue was equally clearly to be placed at the left end of a group, but as there was no trace of the woman's right hand on the Brooklyn sculpture, a detail which the position of her right arm demands, the existence of a central figure seemed certain and was assumed. Shortly afterwards, when the Kansas sculpture appeared, its similarity of workmanship immediately called for comparison with the Brooklyn piece. While the type is conventional for the period, the details and workmanship seem to me so similar in each piece that I believe they must come from the same group. A close examination of the right side of the Kansas piece shows, directly above the kilt, the outline of a woman's hand against the man's body, which I believe to be the right hand of the Worcester piece. The Kansas statue has clearly been cut free on each side from companion pieces, which I identify as the Worcester and Brooklyn sculptures. The hand of a child on the right leg of the Kansas statue makes it certain that we have here fragments of a family group of three adults and at least one, probably two, children, a well-known composition typified by the group of Penmerew³ in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The missing fragments of the two children are probably to be identified in two limestone sculptures of a boy and girl which I saw in the possession of a Paris dealer in 1938. In material, scale, and detail they fit perfectly on each side of the Kansas statue. The Brooklyn Museum has photographs of these sculp-

¹ P. B. Cott, *An Egyptian Sculpture of the Fourth Dynasty*, in *Worcester Art Museum Annual*, I (1935-6), 17 ff., with pl. 16. Limestone, h. 1.37 m. *William Rockhill Nelson Collection*, Kansas City, Mo., [1940], 13, fig. 3. Limestone, h. 1.75 m. (69 in.). John D. Cooney, *An Old Kingdom Torso*, in *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, xxiv (1937), 189 ff. Limestone, h. 1.55 m.

² In reducing Cooney's photographs for reproduction, the attempt has been made to reduce the three figures to their relative proportions, at least approximately.—Ed.

³ *The Harvard University Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition*, in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, xi (April, 1913), 20.

tures, but as it is not possible to communicate with the owner at the present time, publication does not seem advisable.

The Worcester, Brooklyn, and Paris fragments, all of which I have examined, are identical in the texture and colour of the stone, a good limestone of rather unusual yellow-brown tone. I have not seen the Kansas sculpture, but examination of the photographs suggests that the stone is the same as in the other pieces, and the presence of the hands of the boy and woman on the body leaves no doubt in my mind of its position as the central figure in our group. Each of the pieces has the same type of incrustation, suggesting burial in identical conditions. These sculptures passed through the hands of several dealers before they were acquired by museums, but the dealer who first handled them in Europe states they were all of the same group, and I see no reason to doubt his statement. The head of each sculpture was broken off anciently, but the breaks at the feet may be of recent origin. Each of the three large figures has been sawn into three sections, presumably to facilitate shipment, and later assembled.


The Worcester statue is easily the finest of the group, being, in my opinion, one of the great masterpieces of private sculpture of the Old Kingdom and as such deserving to be better known to readers of the *Journal*. The body is completely clothed in a fine, tight-fitting linen garment, through which the sculptor has in masterly manner suggested the lithe sensuousness of the woman's body. The left leg of the figure is advanced in the usual masculine pose, a most unusual position for a woman.

This detail is so exceptional that in reading the publication of the excavations of the tomb of Raḥwēr at Gīzah my attention was caught by an illustration¹ of the limestone base of a five-figure family group in which the left-end figure of a woman also stood with her left leg advanced. No trace of the sculptures was found with the base. A careful comparison of the illustration of this base with the pieces here published made me suspect a possible connexion between them. Measurements of the base are not given, but it is referred to as 'life-size', and the scale of serdab 18, in which the base was found, would just permit the use of a group of life size. Family-group sculptures of a large scale are rare, and when the unusual position of the Worcester figure's left foot is indicated in the base of one of them, it is very tempting to claim an identification. Since the breaks on the base seem to coincide with those on the statues, I can see no obstacle to such an identification. Additional weight is given the identification by comparing the Brooklyn and Kansas pieces with the statue from the naos of the tomb of Raḥwēr,² which is strikingly similar to the Brooklyn piece. Comparison of all these sculptures suggests to me a strong possibility that they are from the same studio. Definitive proof must await conclusion of the War, when a cast of the base can be tried in place.

If my identification is correct, these sculptures would date from the early Fifth Dynasty, probably the reign of Neferirkarē. Previous attributions were practically the same, ranging from the end of the Fourth Dynasty to the first half of the Fifth, the logical terminals for large private sculptures. Copies and translations of the text on the base are given by Selim Hassan.³ I differ from the reading in one detail only, the name

¹ Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza, 1929-1930* (Oxford, 1932), 27, 29, with pl. xxx, No. 1. Op. cit., pl. xix.

³ Op. cit., p. 29 and p. 3.

of the right-end figure, presumably to be identified with the Brooklyn statue. The name is , which the author reads *It-s*, but questions. It is to be read *ity·ś* or *ity·śn*.¹ Professor Ranke, with whom I discussed this name, suggested the latter reading to me as the more probable, remarking that it belonged to that group of Old Kingdom names of which *nb·śn* is a typical example.

Long before the recent excavations the tomb of Raṯwēr had been entered, for sculptures from there have been in the Cairo collection for many years.² It is very possible that illicit diggers entered the tomb sometime before the most recent excavation to remove the sculptures which later appeared on the European market.

In comparing the illustrations of these three sculptures it must be remembered that the photographs were made separately, with different cameras and lighting, and to different scales. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Charles Sawyer of the Worcester Art Museum and Mr. Paul Gardner of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art for their kindness in supplying me with the photographs here reproduced and giving me permission to publish these fine examples of Egyptian art.



¹ H. Ranke, *Personennamen*, p. 49, No. 26.

² Selim Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. [vii].

THE KING OF EGYPT'S GRACE BEFORE MEAT

By A. M. BLACKMAN

THE relief and two adjoining texts with which this article is concerned are to be found in the second register on the inner face of the northern section of the girdle-wall of the great temple of Horus at Edfu.^a So far as I am aware these two texts, the longer one of which refers to the creation of Shu, have never been translated, despite the fact that they were published years ago by von Bergmann,^b and that the longer one in particular contains features of no little interest to students of the ancient Egyptian religion. I therefore venture to present readers of the *Journal* with the following translation and commentary, in the course of preparing which I had the good fortune to be able to discuss by correspondence various grammatical and other points with Professor Gunn and Mr. H. W. Fairman. Their helpful observations will be duly acknowledged in the following pages. The above-mentioned texts and the legends attached to the figures in the relief are published in Chassinat's *Le Temple d'Edfou*,^c VI, 152-7, and an admirable photograph of the relief itself is reproduced in *E.* XIV, pl. DLVII.^d The Berlin Academy photographs Nos. 100-2 show not only the relief with its legends but the two adjoining texts as well. A collation of these photographs with Monsieur Chassinat's printed versions of the legends and texts did little but provide evidence, if such be needed, of his accuracy as a copyist.^e


DESCRIPTION OF THE RELIEF. The King, Ptolemy XI, wearing the *hmhm*-crown, offers a tray, upon which are laid two trussed ducks and various joints of meat, to the sacred hawk of Edfu temple, accompanied by Horus of Behdet, Hathōr, and Harsomtus. The sacred hawk, whose cult Fairman and I propose to discuss fully in a later article, stands on a *serekh* placed immediately in front of Horus of Behdet, who is seated on a throne and holds the ♂-emblem and ♀-sceptre. Behind Horus stands Hathōr, her right hand uplifted in the gesture of protection, followed by her son, the youthful Harsomtus. Above the last-named divinity hovers the Winged Disk, one wing extended horizontally and the other hanging vertically, while from the Disk itself depends a single uraeus. Behind the King is the Queen, Cleopatra III, making the same gesture with her left as Hathōr is making with her right hand. She is crowned with a diadem composed of two tall plumes  combined with a pair of cow's horns , between which is set the solar orb.

^a See Porter & Moss, *Top. Bibl.* VI, 131 (plan); 163 (314).

^b *Hierogl. Inschr.* XLII-XLIII, XLIV [right].

^c Note that Chassinat's *Le Temple d'Edfou*, *Le Temple de Dendera*, and *Mammisi d'Edfou*, are in this article referred to respectively as *E.*, *D.*, and *M.*

^d The second part of *E.* x containing pl. CXLIX cited in Porter & Moss, *op. cit.*, 163, has not yet been published.

^e It might be pointed out that generally where Chassinat prints  the figure is actually beardless. When the sign is bearded the fact is noted in the Commentary.

LEGENDS ACCOMPANYING THE FIGURES IN THE RELIEF.¹ A, 1. Above the King: [153, 1] *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), Son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), Servant of the Falcon (hm gmḥsw),² who celebrates the liturgy for his father and brings the heart³ (sic) of the god to his repast.*

A, 2. In a vertical line forming the left-hand border of the relief: [153, 5] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank), is on his dais (ḥndw) in the Great Balcony⁴ of Him with the Dappled Plumage, dismembering the sacrificial ox,⁵ trapping wild fowl,⁶ and bringing the pieces of meat therefrom into the House of the Falcon.⁷ He is like Shu⁸ who bends up his hand⁹ for his creator (km sw); Truth's Companion,¹⁰ supplying his (the sacred hawk's) altar¹¹ with victuals.*

A, 3. In front of the King: [152, 14] *Presenting pieces of flesh. To be spoken: Pieces of the flesh of thy foes¹² have been cut up in thy presence, Great Falcon (sṯw wr), pre-eminent in the Great Seat.*

B, 1. Above the Queen: [153, 3] *The Queen, mistress of the Two Lands, (Cleopatra), God's Mother of the Son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah).*

B, 2. In front of the Queen: [153, 4] *Take¹³ them for thyself, there is no defilement therein, they are imbued with life, they are pure.*

C. Above the Sacred Hawk: [156, 5] *To be spoken by the Living Falcon (P[ṯ]-šm-ḥnh)¹⁴ who is on the Serekh, the Living Emanation of Rē,¹⁵ pre-eminent on the Balcony¹⁶ every day, his son Shu bending up for him his hand.¹⁷ [156, 4] I provision thy table¹⁸ by day and by night, the Twin Children¹⁹ protecting thee.²⁰*

D, 1. Above Horus of Behdet: [156, 7] *To be spoken by Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of the sky, noble falcon, content with truth, who assesses God's Land,²¹ ruler of Punt, who takes his pleasure in the Valley of Myrrh, lord of gods, the One and Only, Khepri who created what has come into being.²² Thou flyest over the sky and passest through (ḥns:k) the horizon as the Behdetite, the lord of Punt.*

I grant thee bulls and birds upon thy (?) tables,²³ there being no god's son²⁴ among them.

D, 2. In a vertical line forming the right-hand border of the relief: [157, 1] *The Behdetite, lord of Behdet, is upon his royal seat (bḥdw:f), even the lord of the throne pre-eminent in the House of the Throne,²⁵ bequeathing the Two Lands, installing his sacred bird,²⁶ exalting his emanation above (other) divine emanations.²⁷ He is (the God) with Dappled Plumage, the shining one, lord of the two plumes, prince of the double diadem.*

E, 1. Above Hathōr: [156, 11] *To be spoken by Hathōr the great, Our Lady of Denderah, Eye of Rē, who sojourns in Behdet, lady of heaven, mistress of all gods.*

E, 2. In front of Hathōr: [156, 12] *I give thee everything that the sky provides, the earth creates, and Nile brings from his source.*

F, 1. Above Harsomtut: [156, 13] *To be spoken by Harsomtut the Child, son of Hathōr, goodly stripling of Harakhti.*

F, 2. In front of Harsomtut: [156, 14] *I give thee victuals in abundance (ḥtpw df:w) upon thy table, every good thing as thy portion.*

G. Accompanying the Winged Disk: [156, 15] *The Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, He with the Dappled Plumage.*

THE TWO TEXTS FORMING THE KING'S GRACE: I. THE LONGER TEXT: [153, 8] *TO BE SPOKEN BY HIS MAJESTY WHEN PARTAKING OF A MEAL.* O Table-god,²⁸ thou hast spat forth²⁹ Shu from thy mouth. [153, 9] Shu hath not ejected³⁰ himself, he hath been ejected.³¹

O Table-god, he hath become a god who is an emanation,³² who is alert,³³ worshipful and mighty. He hath seized the Two Lands and enfolded everything in [153, 10] his embrace. May he dedicate³⁴ to thee all that he hath enchanted (?),³⁵ for he hath become Hu.³⁶

O Table-god, thou hast spat him forth and he hath issued as [153, 11] thine utterance, (for) he hath become Hu who sendeth forth³⁷ thine utterance.

O Table-god, may he give thee all that he will have dedicated, (now that) he has become a god who is an emanation, who is alert, worshipful [153, 12] and powerful. May he dedicate to thee every good thing³⁸ which thou wilt give him, for he hath become Hike.³⁹

O Table-god, he hath come forth from thy mouth and thy [153, 13] sharp teeth could not prevent (?),⁴⁰ him. The parts within thy teeth⁴¹ have not ejected him, and (he) hath (not) ejected himself.⁴²

Thy lips have spat him forth, the earth hath lifted him up, [154, 1] the earth hath enchanted (?) him, and he hath become the sky. Shu,⁴³ he hath lifted himself up, he hath gathered⁴⁴ himself together in (?)⁴⁵ the egg.

May he dedicate to thee every good thing, food-offerings [154, 2] in abundance. May he set (them) before thee, and mayest thou be content therewith, may thy spirit (k3:k) be content therewith, and thy heart content therewith forever.

May (he) give (to) thee⁴⁶ the earth, may he lift up⁴⁷ to thee every good thing that is upon it, [154, 3] for he hath become Abundance upon earth.⁴⁸

O Table-god, he hath become a god⁴⁹ who is an emanation, who is alert, worshipful and powerful, [154, 4] in his name of Emanation of Shu who hath become a god.

May he dedicate to thee every good thing, food-offerings in abundance. May he set (them) before thee and mayest thou be content therewith, may [154, 5] thy spirit (k3:k) be content therewith, even with the abundance, and thou become an emanation thereby, worshipful thereby, powerful thereby, divine thereby.

O Table-god, thou hast said concerning him: [154, 6] The Son of Rē, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah) (sic),⁵⁰ has come,⁵¹ to wit the meal fashioned from him⁵²—(my) offspring is he, (my) child (?) is he⁵³—that so might (?) arise⁵⁴ his name of Shu in the Firmament.

O Tab[154, 7]le-god,⁵⁵ may he come to thee, having become glad at meeting thee.⁵⁶ May he issue commands (?)⁵⁷ with thee, now he hath come.

May he bring thee every good thing, for he hath become Hu who sendeth forth⁵⁸ thine utterance.

[154, 8] O Table-god, may he smite for thee all thine enemies, for he hath become the Great Smiter.

O Table-god,⁵⁹ may he watch them for thee, for he hath become the Great Watcher.

O Tab[154, 9]le-god, may he cut them in pieces for thee, slaughter them for thee, divide them up (šbšb:f st) for thee, overturn them for thee, and place them [154, 10] on their faces.⁶⁰

O Table-god, thou hast said concerning him: He is a god⁶¹ who is an emanation, who is alert, worshipful and powerful. May he dedicate [154, 11] to thee these things that have come forth from thee.⁶²

O Table-god, he hath become a god who is an emanation,⁶³ who is alert, worshipful and powerful. He has become a god, bringing thee [154, 12] all good things. May he dedicate (them) to thee and carry⁶⁴ (them) for thee in his name of Shu, the King's Ka.⁶⁵

May he dedicate to thee these things and support for thee the sky upon his head [154, 13] in his name of Shu-the-Sky.

O Table-god, may he give thee strength under the sky in his name of Ptaḥ.⁶⁶ May he support for thee heaven with his hands in his name of Shu-[154, 14] who-carrieth-Heaven.

O Table-god, thou hast desired him (to be) with thee as one body in his name of Mrḥ(w).⁶⁷ Mayest thou unite wholly⁶⁸ with him in his name of Khnum.⁶⁹

Mayest thou be content with [155, 1] him in his name of Ptaḥ. Mayest thou unite with him and may thy heart be satisfied with him in his name of Khnum the Deft-handed. May he dedicate (things) to thee in his name of Ḥu.

Be satisfied, therefore, and worshipful, [155, 2] O lord of gods, through the offerings which this thy son bringeth thee. Recite (?) for him an example⁷⁰ of thine utterance, even for thy male child in his name of Mrḥ(w). Mayest thou give [155, 3] him food-offerings, diverted⁷¹ in thy presence in the primordial age,⁷² in his name of Master of Largess.⁷³

Be satisfied and worshipful, O Living Falcon, lord of the Two Lands, lord of the nobles, lord [155, 4] of the common folk, lord of Seat of Rē̄,⁷⁴ lord of gods, through the offerings which this thy son bringeth thee, this thy⁷⁵ Worshipfulness, this thy Ka, this thy Ḥike, this thy Ptaḥ, [155, 5] this thy Shu, this thy Thoth, this thy Abundance upon earth. Mayest thou become content thereby and worshipful thereby. May thy spirit be content therewith and thy heart be content therewith for ever.

[155, 6] Do thou give to him an example of thine utterance, even to thy male child in his name of Mrḥ(w). Mayest thou give him offerings, diverted in thy presence [155, 7] in the primordial age, in his name of Master of Largess.

A secret of the King,⁷⁶ a secret of the Living Falcon, are the diverted offering(s) (wḏb)⁷⁷ which the Servant of the Falcon hath taken in his form of [155, 8] Shu, Son of Rē̄.

II. THE SHORT TEXT: O Sakhmet of yesterday, Edjō of to-day,⁷⁸ thou hast come and hast replenished this table (wḏḥw) of the Living Falcon, [155, 9] King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Blank),⁷⁹ even as thou didst for thy father Horus, when thou camest forth from Pe.

Do thou protect the Living Falcon, Son of Rē̄, [155, 10] (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptaḥ), with that papyrus-wand of life in thy hand, in that thy name of Edjō.

Do thou shoot⁸⁰ thine arrow at [155, 11] all the victuals of those who shall speak any malicious word⁸¹ against the Living Falcon. Let a slaughter be made of them like as when (?) thou didst prevail over the enemies [155, 12] of Rē̄ in the primordial age in that thy name of Sakhmet.

Thine offerings belong to the Living Falcon. He is Rē̄⁸² from whom thou camest forth.⁸³ [156, 1] O Sakhmet, shoot thine arrow at all the enemies of the Living Falcon. O Bastet,

mayest thou draw out⁸⁴ their heart(s) so that they be assigned to the brazier of Horus-who-is-in-Bonds.⁸⁵






[156, 2] (Mine) arrow shall not miss them. I am Sakhmet who prevaieth over a million. I have shot at all the enemies of the [156, 3] Living Falcon, the Living Hawk.

Horus, Horus (?), the papyrus-wand of Sakhmet is about the flesh of the Living Falcon,⁸⁶ whole for life!⁸⁷


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
1. The numerals in the translation placed in square brackets denote the pages and lines in Chassinat's publication.

2. See *JEA* xxix, 17, n. e; xxx, 79, under *Additions and Corrections*. The title is here assigned to the King whom the relief represents as filling the role of the sacred hawk's priest.

3. , which is quite clear in the Berlin photograph (= *E.* xiv, pl. DLVII), must surely be a mistake of the sculptor or scribe for  *bꜥ n ntr*; see *E.* vi, 157, 2 = legend D, 2, below, p. 58, where the sacred hawk is designated 'his (i.e. Horus of Behdet's) *bꜥ*', though a designation much more frequently assigned to it is *bꜥ n Rc* or *bꜥ nh n Rc*, *E.* i, 361, 11; vi, 93, 11. 13-14; 152, 2; 156, 5; viii, 67, 11; 109, 15; 110, 1; 148, 8; cf. Junker, in *WZKM*, xxvi, 51-3. In *E.* ii, 9, 12, the sacred hawk is the *bꜥ* of Harakhti, while *E.* vi, 299, 7, speaks of 'Rē and his living *bꜥ*'. I must confess that there is an objection to my emendation in the fact that the expected determinative  or  is lacking; see many of the above-cited references. However, the writing  *bꜥw* does occur, *E.* vi, 157, 2; see also iii, 339, 9; 351, 6. 8. For the episode in the daily temple-liturgy entitled 'Bringing the God to his repast', see Blackman's art. *Worship (Egyptian)*, i, 5 (3) in Hastings, *ERE* xii, 779¹; also *E.* vi, 305, 2; Blackman, *Meir*, iii, 29, n. 11; Junker, *Götterdekret*, 19-20. With the *int bꜥ(?) n ntr r šbwꜥf* of our text cf. *M.* 46, 23-24.

4. See below, n. 16.

5. For a useful note on *šsr* 'sacrificial ox' see Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 110, 8a. In discussing this particular passage, however, Sethe, not realizing that  is the determinative of *Sꜥb-šwt* (cf. *E.* iii, 1, 13; v, 7, 8), treats it as an ideogram (reading the sign as *bik?*), translates it 'Falken', and makes it the subject of the following pseudo-verbal clauses. For other occurrences at Edfu of the word *šsr* in similar contexts, see *E.* i, 565, 3; iv, 284, 16; v, 165, 5; vii, 73, 5; 148, 11; 316, 5; 317, 4; *D.* iv, 11, 1.

6. The word  is not cited in *Wb.* ii, but see *E.* iii, 193, 11; vii, 81, 14; 82, 2; 124, 11; also Fairman, *Ann. Serv.*, xlIII, 270, n. xlv. Sethe, loc. cit., translates the word 'Vogel' without comment.

7. A common name for the temple of Edfu, e.g. *E.* i, 568, 11; 569, 7; ii, 9, 13; 19, (36); iv, 286, 13; v, 165, 13; vi, 5, 6; 319, 5; vii, 111, 11; viii, 161, 10.


8. See *JEA* xxix, 17, n. e; xxx, 79, under *Additions and Corrections*.



9. For this gesture and its liturgical significance see Blackman, *Worship (Egyptian)*, i, 5 (3), in Hastings, *ERE* xii, 779¹.

10. See *Wb.* iii, 448, 5-6; *E.* iv, 72, 11-12; 295, 3; *D.* ii, 29, 6; iv, 36, 12; 37, 16.

11. For *sm* 'altar' see *Wb.* IV, 121, 10. It is possibly only a variant writing of *sm*, *Wb.* III, 452, 13.

12. On the question of human and animal sacrifices in Egyptian temples of the late period and their purport as symbolizing the destruction of a divinity's enemies, see Junker, *ZÄS* XLVIII, 69 ff.; see also below, p. 72.


13. Emending .









14. For the spelling , instead of the more normal , see also *E.* VI, 155, 3.



15. See above, n. 3.

16. As will be seen in the forthcoming article by Fairman and myself, to which reference is made below, p. 70, there is plenty of evidence to show that the 'balcony' (*sšd*) on which the sacred hawk was exposed to his worshippers was situated, as at Philae,^a above the gateway of the pylon.


17. The sacred hawk's priest, the *hm gmḥsw*, impersonated Shu; see n. 8 of this Commentary, and for the gesture, n. 9.

18. Restoring ; see *E.* VI, 156, 14.

19. If, as I have supposed,  is a writing of  = *sṯy*,^b Shu and Tphēnis must be meant. See also *E.* VIII, 146, 5–6, where it is said of the Behdetite 'he guideth all men to his territory, their father is he, they are his twin-children (). In this passage mankind seems to be regarded as the offspring of the sun-god and equated with Shu and Tphēnis, the first created beings; cf. Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxviii, 93. Fairman has sent me an interesting note on  which he felt inclined to read *rhṯy* the 'Two Damsels', i.e. Isis and Nephthys, suggesting that  has been wrongly substituted by the scribe or sculptor for the ibis-sign, which often reads *rh*, and referring me for the correct writing to *E.* v, 190, 12. He preferred *rhṯy* to *sṯy* because the protection of the god or king is one of the chief functions of the 'Two Damsels', see *E.* I, 45, 4; 384, 8; IV, 245, 17; 295, 14–15; v, 194, 2. With regard to the variant writings of the word for 'Two Damsels', normally *rhṯy* (*Wb.* II, 441, 16), he informs me that he can prove beyond all doubt that , usually read *msnty* (*Wb.* II, 144, 17), is actually to be read *rhṯy*, and he furthermore states that the parallels clearly show that *rhṯy* = *rhṯy*. For this interesting phonetic phenomenon see our joint article in *JEA* xxx, 21, n. 41 of the Commentary. After further reflection, however, and in view of the parallel phrase in *E.* VI, 107, 9–10, *sw m gmḥsw kꜣ r hr nhḥ*  *hm-f hr [ir(t)]*^c *sṯf*, where *sṯy* seems much more likely than *rhṯy*, Fairman has come to the conclusion that my reading of  in *E.* VI, 156, 5 may be right after all.



20. Reading *hr ir(t) sṯk*,  preceding  purely on calligraphic grounds.

21. See *Wb.* v, 376, 5; *E.* III, 65, 15; VI, 101, 2; 104, 7.

22. Reading *shp(r) hpr(t)*; cf. the continuation of the text *E.* VIII, 146, 5–6, cited in the preceding n. 19: 'They are his twin-children, who came into being when what has come into being had not yet come into being (); cf. also *E.* v, 9, 1. With regard to the passage quoted by Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter*, § 38, p. 27, that

^a See Junker, *WZKM* xxvi, 58 f., with pl. III.

^b See Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter*, 57, n. 1; *Wb.* III, 412, 9.

^c In spite of Chassinat's note  is obviously a better restoration in the lacuna than .

scholar, wrongly, in my opinion, takes 𓆎 to be a writing of *tr* 'land'. If this were so 𓆎 would probably have been determined by 𓆎 or 𓆎_1 (see *Wb.* v, 212), though this is by no means an invariable rule; see, e.g., *E.* III, 3, 13; IV, 10, 12; V, 4, 7; 7, 3. However, the Egyptians' love of a jingle in phrases of this kind (see, e.g., *Pap. Bremner-Rhind*, 26, 21-2), and the passage *E.* VIII, 146, 5-6, favour my reading of 𓆎 rather than Sethe's, as does also *Berlin Hymn to Ptaḥ*, 3, 1 = Wolf, *ZÄS* LXIV, 18, (19).

23. Possibly to be read *tw̄t-k* here and not *h̄rwt-k*; see *Wb.* v, 338. I think I can see in the Berlin photograph a trace of the loop-handle of 𓆎 which is almost entirely lost in a crack in the stone.

24. Do these words, presumably addressed to the officiating king, mean that Horus will safeguard him from the guilt of partaking, all unwittingly, of the flesh of a sacred animal? I can instance no other example of *s̄ n̄tr* used in this sense.

25. A common name for Edfu temple.

26. Lit. 'making his sacred bird (*ꜣwt-f*) stand up (as king)'. For *ꜣr* 'stand up' as king see Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 32, n. a; 34, n. c. In the passage *E.* VI, 93, 10-11, the transitive verb *sh̄n* 'install' is used, in conjunction with *h̄r nst-f* 'upon his throne'. For this verb see also *E.* VI, 102, 3-4; 187, 3; 263, 1; *Urk.* II, 37, 4-5. 12; 50, 12. Fairman thinks that 𓆎 here and in *E.* VI, 93, 10; 263, 1; 308, 2, is to be read not *ꜣwt* 'sacred bird' but *km̄* 'sacred image'. But since 𓆎 , *E.* VI, 263, 1 finds a perfect parallel in 𓆎 , Junker, *WZKM*, xxvi, 45, (16), where the hide-determinative surely postulates the reading *ꜣwt*,^a I still feel that my transliteration and rendering of the group 𓆎 are correct. This meaning of *ꜣwt* is not recorded in *Wb.* I; for 𓆎 = 𓆎 see *Bull. Inst. fr.* XLIII, 72, n. 1.

27. Cf. *E.* VI, 93, 12-13: 'He (Horus of Behdet) places him (the sacred hawk) upon his *serekh* in his canopied portable throne (*hnt tw̄t-f*) in order to exalt his ka above the other divine emanations (𓆎).' With 𓆎 = *b̄rw* cf. 𓆎 + pylon-determinative = *b̄hn(t)*, *E.* v, 4, 2, which Fairman and I now accept as the correct reading against what is said in *JEA* xxix, 20, n. b. Furthermore, 𓆎 as a writing of *b̄* seems to occur again, namely *E.* VI, 72, 15,^b where 𓆎 so regarded would yield the common epithet of Horus of Behdet, *b̄ tkk*, one so likely to be found in such a context. Fairman in a recent letter to me has proposed that we should emend 𓆎 , and suggests that the ancient scribe confronted with two 𓆎 -signs got confused and omitted the determinative of *dr̄ty*. For 𓆎 as a uniconsonantal sign = *b̄*, a value derived from its employment as a word-sign for, or a determinative of, *b̄*, see Fairman, *Ann. Serv.* XLIII, 268, n. xxxvii.

28. That 𓆎 is the royal dinner-table personified as a divinity, like the royal couch, *mn-bit*,^c and other objects closely connected with the King, such as the royal beard, *dwr-wr*, the two flabellae, *h̄pwy* (?), and the royal napkin, *h̄k̄s*,^d is suggested by the passage 𓆎 , 'I heap high thy table with every good thing', *E.* VI, 239, 15; see also *E.* v, 210, 4. In both these passages, apart from the determinative,

^a Cf. 𓆎 , *E.* IV, 274, 7; 𓆎 , *ibid.* 286, 1; 𓆎 , *ibid.* 286, 4, where *ꜣwt* is unquestionably to be read.

^b See *JEA* xxix, 15 with n. c.

^c *E.* VI, 152, 7; see also IV, 138, 4-5; *Wb.* II, 63, 5.

^d See Gardiner, *JEA* xxx, 29 f. with footnotes.

the spelling of the word for table is identical with that of $\equiv\text{𐎢}$, \equiv and \equiv being not uncommon Ptolemaic variants of \equiv .^a *Wb.* v, 339 gives \equiv , 𐎢 , and 𐎢 , with determinative 𐎢 or 𐎢 etc., as variant spellings of \equiv 'table', and *E.* VIII, 154, 2-3 offers yet another variant $\equiv\text{𐎢}$, which *Wb.* does not record. Unlike *mn-bit*, the royal couch, the royal dinner-table is personified, as the determinative 𐎢 clearly indicates, not as a goddess but as a god, despite the fact that *tt* is unquestionably a feminine word. As Gunn has noted, *Wb.* v, 338-9 gives three examples of *tt* followed by the indirect genitive, spelt \equiv every time. Gunn also observes that yet another example is to be found in Dévaud, *Ptahhotep*, 120, second text, where the word not transcribed from the hieratic is certainly $\equiv\text{𐎢}$ *tt*, which, he supposes, must be the word *tt* 'table' in view of the variant in *Pap. Prisse* which is clearly meant for 𐎢 . It seems highly probable, therefore, that $\equiv\text{𐎢}$ is to be read *Tty* and is to be regarded as a nisbe-derivative from *tt*, meaning 'He-of-the-table', 'Table-god'. Do $\equiv\text{𐎢}$, $\equiv\text{𐎢}$ and the other supposed variant writings of *tt* cited above also read *Tty*? These spellings with final 𐎢 and 𐎢 certainly suggest that this is the case; cf., for example, 𐎢 *Wdty*, *E.* III, 91, 4, $\equiv\text{𐎢}$ *Hsty*, a designation of Sopd, *E.* v, 93, 5, and $\equiv\text{𐎢}$ *Hstyw*, *E.* VIII, 135, 13; cf. also writings of the fem. dual such as 𐎢 , 𐎢 , *sty*, cited in n. 19 of this Commentary, and the writing of *shmty*, *E.* VI, 244, 11; see, too, Sethe, *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1934, XIII, 222, n. 51. Since the sacred hawk's (originally the King's) dinner-table was, when ceremonially employed, personified as a divinity, we may well suppose that the offering-table of any other divinity could be similarly personified and could be referred to in the formulae concerned with the presentation of food either as 'table' or 'Table-god'.

In view of the relationship with Shu and H̄u assigned to him throughout the longer text it is quite evident that for the purposes of this particular rite, originally the feeding of the King,^b $\equiv\text{𐎢}$ is identified with Atum, the creator-god of Heliopolitan mythology. In this capacity, for as Table-god he must be duly furnished with victuals, he creates Shu = H̄u to supply him with the food he needs. It is, of course, as food-purveyor to the Table-god that Shu acquires the title *hry idb* = *hry wdb*, 'Master of Largess', a title not infrequently borne by him in texts of the Ptolemaic period, see below, n. 73 of this Commentary and p. 70.

29. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter*, 113, n. 1, takes the view, wrongly in my opinion, that the verb *išš* means 'cough up' (*husten*) rather than 'spit out'. I would suggest in this connexion that *išš* in *išš n Šw*,^c a not uncommon attribute of the officiating King, is equivalent to our word 'spit', meaning 'exact likeness', in such expressions as 'he is the spit of his father'.


30. This rendering of $\text{𐎢} \times \text{𐎢}$ seems to be the only one that yields any sense as the text stands. The verb *d̄i* has some such meaning in the epithet *d̄i-r* 'with outstretched (or "thrust out") arm', so *n d̄i s(w) Šw* might well mean 'Shu has not thrust himself out', i.e., 'has not ejected himself'.




31. Taking *d̄i f* to be passive *sdm.f*.

^a See Fairman, *Ann. Serv.* XLIII, 235, Nos. 232, 234.

^b See below, p. 70.

^c E.g. *E.* III, 43, 15; VI, 108, 4; 305, 11; *D.* II, 42, 14; 47, 6; 92, 9; 180, 8; III, 125, 2-3; cf. *E.* IV, 265, 16.

32. Emending , see *E.* VI, 154, Chassinat's n. 6. On the use in Graeco-Roman hieroglyphic texts of the 3rd pers. fem. sing. of the Old Perfective in place of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. see Junker, *Gr. der Denderatexte*, §§ 143, 145.

33. Note the writing  instead of  in all occurrences of this phrase in our text except *E.* VI, 154, 11, where we have . The explanation is that the inflexion *·t(i)* has been assimilated to the final *d* of the root.

34. This must surely be the meaning of *hwi* here, = lit. 'strike', i.e. with the *hrp*-wand; see *Wb.* III, 47, 2-3; Blackman's art. *Worship (Egyptian)*, 5, (3), in Hastings, *ERE* XII, 779¹; see also Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, II, 15-17, where the 'striking' of the statue appears to be an act of consecration.


35. It was, of course, by spoken enchantments that Shu as *Hu* = 'Authoritative Utterance'—of whom *Hike*, 'Magic', was regarded almost as an equivalent^a—was supposed to create food.

36. The identification of Shu with *Hu* is not altogether, apparently, confined to this text, for they seem to be brought into close relationship with one another in the 'coffin-text'^b translated by Gardiner in *PSBA* XXXVIII, 46; see also *ibid.* 44 f.; 52 f.; 93 f.



37. $\bar{\imath}$ = *wd*; see *Wb.* I, 387, 11.

38. For other instances of *ih̄t-nfr nb*, instead of the usual *ih̄t nb nfr*, see also *E.* VI, 154, I. 2. 4. 7. 11-12; 156, 14. Gunn wonders whether *ih̄t nfr* had come to be regarded as a compound. Fairman thinks that this is often undoubtedly so and in such a case would transliterate *ih̄t-nfr*. Precisely the same thing occurs with *st wrt*, which was certainly at times regarded as a compound *st-wrt*. Hence *st-wrt-f* is often found as well as *st-f wrt*.

39. See n. 35 above and Gardiner, *PSBA* XXXVII, 254.

40. This meaning for  was suggested to me by Gunn, I having proposed 'pinch'.

41. I.e. the tongue and soft inner parts of the oral cavity. It is interesting to observe how this text insists that Shu was not spat out from the inside of the mouth of Atum. On the contrary it seems anxious to show that he was a product of Atum's lips, not of his saliva and semen, and so was the equivalent in every respect of that god's spoken and creative word, *Hu*. In fact we find here the same tendency to tone down the crudity of the old Heliopolitan creation-myth as is manifested in the teaching about the Ennead of Ptah, and about Horus and Thoth as his heart and tongue, in the *Denkmal memphitischer Theologie*, ll. 53 and 55 = Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 50 and 59.

42. Emending  \times , *n d̄·f s(w)*; cf. *n d̄·f s(w) Šw* in *E.* VI, 153, 8-9, above.

43. For *tst* 'sky' see *Wb.* V, 407, 19. Fairman suggests, I think rightly, that this is a more likely rendering than my 'and he hath become the clouds of Shu'. For *tsw Šw*, which I took to be the reading here, see *Wb.* V, 407, 21, and *ZÄS* LXIV, 24, (31) = *Berlin Hymn to Ptah*, 5, 3.


44. A corruption of  , see *Wb.* IV, 211.

45. So Gunn instead of my 'as an egg'. Is there possibly an allusion here to some legend about the creation of Shu that bore a resemblance to the two legends alluded to

^a See Gardiner, *PSBA* XXXVIII, 52 f.


^b Lacau, *Textes religieux*, No. 57.

in the texts cited by Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter*, §§ 122, 124, telling of the birth of the Hermopolite Ogdoad and of the snake with the head of a beetle?


46. Emending .

47. *Tw:f*.










48. For *Df* 'Abundance', like *Hu* one of the fourteen *kas* of *Rē*, and for his close association with *Hu*, see Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxviii, 84 f.; 88 f.; 95. The expected *ḥ*-determinative is omitted again *E. vi*, 155, 5; cf. also the writing of *Hu*, *E. vi*, 154, 7, and that of *Ptaḥ*, *ibid.* 155, 4.


49.  = prep. *m*; see Fairman, *Ann. Serv.* xliii, No. 144.

50. The words *s* *R* must surely refer to Shu (cf. *E. vi*, 155, 8), as also the suffix *f* in *ih* *ms im* *f*. The redactor who thought it appropriate to insert the royal name after *s* *R* cannot have understood the text at all.

51. For the meaning of the verb  *Δ*, here appearing in the *sdm.n.f* form, see *Wb.* ii, 23, 6. Fairman has proposed to me very diffidently the rendering, which I have for the most part adopted, of this very difficult and possibly corrupt passage.


52. With these words cf. 'Hu is for the breakfast of King N.', *Pyr.* § 1876, and 'Hu is given to me upon the altar of *Rē*-Atum', Lacau, *Textes religieux*, No. 4, [p. 22]; both quoted by Gardiner, *PSBA*, xxxviii, 48.

53. Fairman suggests that we should read *wḥd(i) ir.f š(y)(i) ir.f*,  being for *ḥ* = , and  a writing of *wḥd* 'offspring', for which spelling see *E. vi*, 100, 11, and cf. Mariette, *Dendera*, iii, 52 (t). He suspects that *β* is more or less a synonym of *wḥd* and wonders if it may not possibly be a writing of *hy*^b 'child'. Fairman points out that the use of  (here replaced by  = ) + suffix occurring in this passage is parallel to that of *im* + suffix, of which several examples have been cited by us in *JEA* xxix, 27, n. a; see also Junker, *WZKM* xxii, 175-9; Sethe, *Nominalsatz*, 98; Drioton, *Ann. Serv.* xl, 619-21. Examples of this use of the preposition *r*, which we have collected, in addition to  'thy son is he', *E. vii*, 172, 17, are *E. i*, 39, 3; 51, 4-5; 362, 14-15; 470, 15; 471, 8; 564, 2; iii, 22, 12-13; 32, 6; iv, 232, 7; v, 139, 1; vii, 132, 3; 322, 5; viii, 130, 1; *M.* 13, 15-16. Fairman also draws my attention to the fact that in Ptolemaic texts *r* is sometimes, when there is no idea of futurity, substituted for the *m* of equivalence in non-verbal sentences with adverbial predicate such as  'I am thy mother', Dümichen, *Baugeschichte*, vi, 2-3; cf. xxxvii, 11; xxxix, 9-10; Brugsch, *Thes.* 102;  'the Primordial Ones are their ka(s)', *E. iv*, 266, 6-7; see also *E. iv*, 294, 16; vii, 82, 5; 322, 5.

54. Or, despite the fact that the *sdm.f*, not the *sdm.n.f*, form is employed here, should we translate 'and so arose his name etc.'? At the end of this passage emend  (*mnt*).

55. Determinative bearded.

56. So Gunn suggests.

57.  = *wd.f*?

58. See above, n. 37.


59. Determinative bearded.

60. For Shu as a warrior-god see Junker, *Onurislegende*, 27 f.; 55 f.; 60 f.

61. For the construction see *Wb.* v, 260, 11; also *JEA* xxix, 7, n. b.

62. I.e. have been produced by the power of the creative word that has issued from

^a See *Ann. Serv.* xliii, 233, No. 219 (d).

^b For *hy* written with  + determinative see *Wb.* iv, 217. For *β* = *š* and replacing *h* see *Ann. Serv.* xliii, 228, No. 189, (a), (b).






Atum's lips and is personified as Shu = Ḥu, 'Authoritative Utterance'; see also what Gardiner says, *PSBA* xxxviii, 93, about the immediate authors—in our text merely Shu = Ḥu and so reduced to one—of all other living creatures and inanimate things.

63. See Chassinat's n. b.

64. For *īšš* 'carry' see *Wb.* I, 136, 1.

65. I know of no instance outside this text of Shu being designated *kꜣ nsw*. But be it noted that Shu, whom the *hm gmḥsw*, the priest who fed the sacred hawk, personified, is spoken of a few lines below (*E.* vi, 155, 4) as the ka of the hawk, whose place in the original version of this text was naturally filled by the Pharaoh (see n. 69). Is Shu so named because he was a purveyor of food to the King, a term for food being *kꜣ*, var. *kꜣw*? For *Kꜣ* (*Kꜣw*) and Ḥu as personifications in close association, see Gardiner, *ibid.* 89, n. 15.



66. See below, n. 69.

67. Apparently written . Very little seems to be known about this god (see *Wb.* II, 112, 5), who, in the Festival Hall of Osorkon at Bubastis, is placed among the Lower Egyptian divinities and is represented as entirely anthropomorphic with human head and goatee beard (Naville, *Fest. Hall*, pl. vii, p. 20). In the temple of Sethos I at Abydos he is depicted as a bull-headed god and has Isis as his consort (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, App. B, Tabl. 5). On the circular altar at Turin (temp. Nekhtḥorheb) he appears as 'Mrḥw who sojourns in Nḥs' , Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 1056, No. 14. Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* III, 97, following Brugsch, states for no apparently valid reason^b that *Nḥs* is a 'ville du Midi d'Égypte', adding that it is still unidentified. At Bubastis the god's name is written , despite his purely human form, whereas at Abydos it is given as . In the one Old Kingdom example of *syt Mrḥ(w)* cited by *Wb.*, a title borne by ladies of exalted rank or by goddesses,^c the god's name is spelt , while in the other examples (Ptolemaic-Roman) it varies between *Mrḥ*, *Mrḥw*, and *Mrḥy*, see *Wb.* II, Belegstellen, 112, 6–8. Since writing this note I have come across some further information about *Mrḥw* in Otto, *Stierkult*, 7 f. That authority states that the title *syt Mrḥ(w)* is often borne by Old Kingdom queens, especially during the Sixth Dynasty, citing as an example 'nḥ-s-n-Mry-Rr, de Rougé, *Récherches*, 117. Furthermore he mentions 'An'khnesneferibrē (Dyn. XXVI) and Arsinoe II as being among the royal holders of the title in the late period (op. cit., 8 with nn. 2 and 3). The fact that *Mrḥy* is designated 'lord of Athribis' in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos (op. cit. 8 with n. 5) shows more clearly than ever that he was a Lower-Egyptian divinity. Finally Otto points out that in the late period this god was equated with Osiris and possibly also identified with the moon.



68. Lit. 'in all his body'.

69. Shu is identified with Ptaḥ and Khnum again in *E.* vi, 155, 1, and *ibid.* 4–5 with *Wꜣš* 'Worshipfulness', the Living Falcon's (originally the King's) ka (see above, n. 65), Ḥike 'Magic', Ptaḥ, Thoth, and *Dfꜣ* 'Abundance', three of whom, namely


^a No determinative.

^b The divinities with the names of their accompanying seats of worship following directly after *Mrḥw* are  and .



^c E.g. *E.* vi, 148, 4.

















'victuals', see *ibid.*, 321, 15. The use of the preposition *m* after *wd šsr* is far from usual; one would expect *r* as in *E.* VI, 156, 1. Again, 'speak against' is not *mdw r* but *mdw m*, see *Wb.* II, 179, 17; Blackman, *JEA* xvi, 63, (2). It looks, therefore, as though at some time or other, through the carelessness of a scribe, these two prepositions had changed places, and I suggest that we should emend accordingly. Only one more small textual correction is necessary, the substitution of  for . That done we have a sentence that yields excellent sense and is completely Egyptian in feeling; cf. *Urk.* IV, 257, 15; 260, 12-13.





It is doubtless in her capacity of goddess of pestilence (see, e.g., Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 32) that Sakhmet is asked to shoot her arrows at 'all the victuals' of those who malign the sacred hawk (the King), the idea of course being that they will thus become unwholesome and productive of disease.

81. Lit. 'with any malicious speech'. 82. Emend .

83. Here is a blank space slightly less than what one group of signs would occupy.

84. The determinative is clearly , which may be a mistake for ; see *Wb.* IV, 560. For the use of *šdi* in this connexion see *ibid.* 561, 7.

85. For the most recent comments on the nature and habitat of this god see Kees, *ZÄS* LXIV, 107 ff.; Faulkner, *JEA* XXIII, 179 = *Pap. Bremner-Rhind*, 25, 24. Kees supplies evidence that  (var. ) was originally a crocodile-god—who came to be identified with Horus—a seat of whose worship was , a town in the ninth Upper Egyptian nome near or on the site now occupied by the White Monastery. Kees has come to no definite conclusion as to the reading and meaning of , , or as to where the town of that name was situated, though he is apparently inclined to locate it in the sixteenth Upper Egyptian nome, see *ZÄS* LXIV, 112. Gardiner, *Hierat. Pap. BM*, III, Text, p. 113, n. 1, translates  'Three-hundred town', but both Fairman and I agree that Sethe's reading *Sṯwt*^a with the possible meaning 'bonds', 'fetters',^b offers the best solution of the problem yet proposed,^c especially in view of the passage      , *E.* VII, 148, 10, where *imy-sṯwt* (?) appears as a name for the sacrificial ox. Fairman and I have noted the following additional examples of   (var.  ) at Edfu, *E.* v, 399, 5, and VI, 149, 13 (where the 'brazier' of this god is again mentioned); VI, 55, 15; 55, 16; 149, 12; 235, 6.

86. For another version of this passage see *E.* VI, 269, 5-7, which plainly shows that  *P(r)*-*hm*-*nh* is to be read *hṯ iwf n*, etc.; see also *E.* III, 309, 2; 317, 7. For another example of  as a spelling of *iwf* Fairman refers me to the double writing  =  (Bucher, *Les Textes des tombeaux du Thoutmosis III et d'Amenophis II*, p. 35, 183, 184; cf. p. 153, 210, 211).

87. For the words *tm n nh* see *Wb.* v, 303, 14.

CONCLUSIONS

The twenty lines of inscription just translated obviously embody what were originally two separate texts, a long one beginning with 'To be spoken by His Majesty' (*E.* VI, 153, 8) and ending with 'in his form of Shu Son of Rē' (*E.* VI, 155, 7-8), and a much

^a *Erläut. Lesest.*, p. 145.

^b See *ZÄS* LXIV, 111.

^c See *ibid.*, loc. cit.

shorter one beginning with 'O Sakhmet of yesterday' (*E.* VI, 155, 8) and ending with $\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{f}}$. This latter text has marked affinity with the long litany to Sakhmet, *E.* VI, 264, 1-269, 7.

The feature of outstanding interest in the longer text is that it must originally have been a formula which the Pharaoh was to recite before partaking of a meal. Hence the title of this article. This fact is plainly indicated by the heading and finds further confirmation in the clause *sšt pw n nsu . . . wdb* (*E.* VI, 155, 7), the words *sšt pw n p(3) hm nh* having been obviously interpolated by the scribe who adapted the text for use in the cult of the sacred hawk.

Several Edfu texts make it clear that one of the duties, if not the chief duty, of the Servant of the Falcon (*hm gmhsu*) was to superintend the feeding of the sacred hawk,^a and they also represent him as impersonating Shu when so engaged. Doubtless, therefore, he was supposed to recite this formula when the bird's meal was laid before it.

As will be seen in the forthcoming article by Fairman and myself on the cult of the sacred hawk at Edfu, a number of royal ceremonies and the formulae appointed to be recited during their performance were adapted for employment therein. A factor that may well have encouraged the priests at Edfu thus to employ such rites and formulae was that, since the Persian conquest, Egypt had been, except for brief intervals, in the hands of foreign rulers. The patriotic Chapter of a great Upper Egyptian fane such as Edfu may well have been more ready to assign the sovereignty over their country to their sacred bird, which, like the Pharaoh of old, was the embodiment of Horus, than to their Macedonian rulers seated in the utterly alien city of Alexandria, rulers who, despite their patronage of the native religion and their adoption of pharaonic titles, must have been regarded as little better than usurpers by the non-Hellenizing inhabitants of the Thebaid, who adhered fanatically to the old religious practices and the old way of life.

With regard to the theological aspect of the longer text the two following points seem quite clear. The royal dinner-table, as suggested in n. 28 of the Commentary, is personified as a god, and the god is identified with Atum. In this capacity, in accordance with the ancient Heliopolitan teaching, the personified table is represented as spitting out Shu. But here the influence of the Memphite theologians makes itself felt (see Commentary, n. 41), for Shu comes into being, not in the gross manner described in the Heliopolitan myth, but emerges directly from the lips of the creator-god (*E.* VI, 153, 13) and straightway becomes Hu, 'Authoritative Utterance', i.e. the Creative Word (*ibid.* 153, 10). As such he produces food of all kinds and his business is to supply the Table-god with victuals (*ibid.* 154, 1 f.). Accordingly he is designated 'Master of Largess' (see Commentary, n. 73), the title in secular life of the official who in Old Kingdom times presided over the royal meals, who was in fact the food-purveyor to the royal household (see Gardiner, *JEA* xxiv, 88-9). Since the Servant of the Falcon, whose duty it was to superintend the feeding of the sacred hawk, impersonated Shu, and Shu, as we have seen, was entitled 'Master of Largess' (*hry-idb*), it seems not unlikely that the Old Kingdom *hry-wdb* in the Mansion of Life (*Hwt-nh*) may also have impersonated that god.

^a See *E.* III, 64, 11; VI, 103, 1-2; 152, 1-2; VII, 25, 13-14; 271, 15-16; VIII, 83, 4.

In two consecutive paragraphs of our text (*E.* VI, 155, 1-7) the personified table and the sacred hawk (originally the King), having severally satisfied their appetites with the victuals laid before them, are asked in return to assign to Shu, as Master of Largess (*hry-idb*), food-offerings for 'diversion' (see *JEA* XXIII, 86 ff.), a request possibly reminiscent of the daily procedure in the dining-hall of an Old Kingdom Pharaoh. Both the personified table and the sacred hawk (the King) are addressed in practically the same words, while Shu, in his capacity of *Hu*, is identified in one or other of the two paragraphs with Ptah, Khnum, *W3š*, the hawk's (originally the King's) ka, *Hike*, *Thōth*, and *Df3*, all of whom were thought to exercise creative or/and alimentary functions (see Commentary, n. 69).

A further point to notice is that in both the above-mentioned paragraphs Shu is spoken of as 'thy male child in his name of *Mrh(w)*'. Thus not only the table but the sacred hawk (the King) is identified with Atum. The reason for this may be that, like the table-god, the King himself was regarded as a source of food, which he distributed among his favoured subjects through the agency of the *hry-wdb* who was equated with Shu; thus the King was placed in the same relationship with Shu as was the table. For the identification of Shu with *Mrh(w)* I can offer no explanation, unless it be that, like two other bull-headed minor gods, Apis and Mnevis, *Mrhw* was a purveyor of food to higher-ranking divinities.^a

Our text clearly represents the result of an attempt to combine and reconcile, in the regular Egyptian manner, two different views as to what happened in the second stage of the Creation, namely after the emergence of Atum from the primordial waters. One is based on an account of the begetting of Shu and Tphēnis similar to that twice referred to in *Pap. Bremner-Rhind*,^b the other on a story about the creation or first appearance of *Hu*, a story more akin to that preserved in a 'coffin-text' published by Lacau^c than that quoted from in Chapter XVII of the *Book of the Dead*.^d Without question our text makes it clear that Shu and *Hu* were closely associated with one another in the minds of Egyptian theologians,^e more closely even than Gardiner suspected when he wrote the illuminating article^f to which I have so often referred and to which I am indebted for much useful information.

The second and shorter text possesses, as already stated, affinity with a litany addressed to Sakhmet (see above, pp. 69 f.). It makes no mention of the sacred hawk's (the King's) meal except in the opening verse, and the rest consists mainly of a series of petitions to the aforesaid goddess, beseeching her to protect the hawk (the King) from his enemies and to destroy them. The text terminates in two verses claiming that the protection asked for has been granted. Why should a formula 'to be spoken by His Majesty when partaking of a meal' terminate in this invocation of Sakhmet, which, as the presence of the royal titles and cartouches indicates, may well have been appended to the longer text centuries before the 'Grace' was employed in the cult of the

^a See Erman, *Beiträge zur ägypt. Religion in Sitzungsab. Berlin*, 1916, XLV, 1149 f.

^b 27, 1; 29, 1; see also *Pyr.* §§ 1248, 1871; Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 79.

^c *Textes religieux*, No. 57. Translated and commented upon by Gardiner, *PSBA* XXXVIII, 46.

^d See *ibid.* 44.

^e *Ibid.* 93, n. 18.

^f *Some Personifications*, 11, in *PSBA* XXXVIII, 43-54, 83-95.

sacred hawk?^a What in my opinion seems a highly satisfactory answer to this question has been suggested to me by Fairman. He maintains that the keynote of the whole ceremony—certainly of the ceremony in the form preserved to us in the Edfu relief and its accompanying inscriptions—is to be found in the title of the offering-formula, 'Presenting pieces of flesh', which that formula itself identifies with 'pieces of flesh' of the hawk's foes, asserting that they have been cut up in his presence. This view as to the nature of meat-offerings finds expression at Edfu and Denderah in all the scenes bearing the same or a similar heading.^b If, as Fairman and I think probable, a similar significance was attached to the portion of meat set before the King at the meal to which the recitation of our two texts was the prelude, a view which distinctly finds support in certain passages in the longer text, *E.* VI, 154, 8–10, then that meal must be regarded as a sacramental rite^c the object of which was not merely the satisfying of the Pharaoh's hunger, but, as was the ultimate object of so many Egyptian religious ceremonies, the ensuring of the safety and well-being of his person and of the death and elimination of his enemies.^d In this particular case their death was enacted in the preparations for the meal, i.e. in the slaughtering and dismembering of cattle and poultry, their final destruction in the eating of the joints and other meat-portions served up for the royal repast, which thus, it might well be supposed, assumed the character of a triumphal banquet. What favours this interpretation is the fact that it fully explains why the King's 'Grace' includes an invocation addressed to Sakhmet, for one of the chief functions of this goddess was to protect the King from his enemies and to destroy them.^e That she should be invited, therefore, to be present and play her part at the enacting and celebration of their destruction appears particularly appropriate.

Both texts may well date back to the Twelfth Dynasty or even earlier, for the language in which they are composed distinctly suggests a good Middle Egyptian, possibly Old Kingdom, archetype as the source from which they ultimately derive. As Gunn has noted, the *sdm-n:f* form retains its past meaning as does also *n sdm:f*, while *sdm:f* is employed mostly as an optative. Indeed, the only linguistic^f features which are not

^a It can in any case hardly be doubted that the scribe who wrote out these two texts in their present form regarded them as constituting a continuous whole.

^b E.g. *E.* II, 85, 9–17; 187, 4–12; IV, 128, 17–129, 14; VI, 158, 11–160, 16; 312, 13–313, 4; VII, 102, 5–18; 107, 2–108, 11. See also Act III and the Epilogue of the Edfu Drama, *JEA* xxx, 10–15, and cf. *JEA* xxix, 15, concluding sentence of (d) and n. 33 of the autographed Commentary.



^c It is by no means improbable that the King's meals served in the Old Kingdom Mansion of Life had already acquired the same sacramental significance; see what is said just below about the date of the two texts and above, on p. 70, about the possible impersonation of Shu by the Old Kingdom *hry-wdb*; see also Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, p. 130, for the identification at a very early date of the foreleg of an ox with an arm of Seth, and Fairman's and my remark on references in the *Pyramid Texts* to the dismemberment of that god, *JEA* xxx, 10, n. i; for the assignment of his *disiecta membra* to various divinities as meat-offerings see *Pyr.* § 1546 ff.; *JEA* xxx, 10–15.

^d See *JEA* xxviii, 37 f., and *ibid.* 38 with n. 3.

^e See *JEA* xxx 10, with n. e, and certain litanies addressed to Sakhmet, *E.* III, 300, 13–301, 6; 303, 4–15; 308, 10–309, 2; 313, 16–314, 11; 316, 12–317, 7; 319, 8–320, 4; 322, 4–323, 3; also passages in some of the scenes entitled *Shṭp Shmt* and *Hw(t) r stpwt*, e.g. *E.* III, 130, 8; IV, 312, 3–6; V, 225, 1–4; VI, 280, 11–12; *ibid.* 15–16; and especially *D.* IV, 11, 8–11; 22, 15–16; 118, 18; 119, 3.

^f The hieroglyphic signs are those employed in a normal non-decorative Ptolemaic inscription, see Fairman, *Ann. Serv.* XLIII, 293.

Middle Egyptian are the substitution of the 3rd person feminine singular for the 3rd person masculine singular of the Old Perfective,^a and the use of the definite article *p(ɜ)* in *P(ɜ)-rhm-rnh*, this displacement of the King's by the sacred hawk's name having been effected at a very late date, probably not before Ptolemaic times.

I will conclude this article by drawing the reader's attention to the numerous instances of paranomasia to be found in these two texts, especially in the longer one. They are, as Gunn has also observed: *E. VI, 153, 9-10, šn/šn*; 153, 11, *Hw/hw*; 153, 13-154, 1, *wts/ts/ts*; 154, 1, *shw/swht*; 154, 6,  (sic) ; 154, 12, *išš/Šw*; *išš nnt/Šw nnt*; 154, 13, *phty/Pth*; *išš . . . pt/Šw (hry) pt*; 154, 14, *mr . . . h'w/Mrh(w)*; *hnm/Hnmw*; 154, 14-155, 1, *h'p/Pth*; 155, 1, *hnm/Hnmw*; *hw/Hw*; 155, 10, *wɜd/Wɜdyt*; 155, 11-12, *shm/Shmt*. Gunn furthermore remarks that there is no paranomasia where one would expect it, namely 154, 7; 155, 2; 155, 6.

^a See Commentary, n. 32.

OENANTHE'S HUSBANDS

By P. MAAS

UNDER Ptolemy Philopator, Agathocles and Agathoclia with their mother the Samian Oenanthe and Sosibius son of Dioscurides were, according to the historians, the most influential persons in the kingdom.

On the other hand, we have a fairly complete list of the eponymous priests and priestesses of the time drawn up, on the basis of Greek and Demotic papyri, by Plaumann in *Real.-Enc. s.v. Hiereis* (1912). In the list occur (pp. 1441-4):

Agathocles as the priest of 216/15;

Sosibius as father of the priestess of 215/14, and farther back, with his father's name added, as the priest of 235/4;

Agathoclia as the priestess of 213/12.

The two Sosibii have been identified by W. Otto (see Plaumann, l.c.), the two Agathocleis by Wilcken, *Arch. Pap.*, VII (1923), 74. The two Agathocliae have not yet been identified because in the Demotic papyrus the name was first misread as Ana[xi]-kleia and appears so in Plaumann's list. On the evidence of a recently found Greek papyrus Plaumann rectified the reading l.c., p. 1453 (index s.v. *Agathokleia*) and in *Sitzungsber. Heidelberg. Akad.*, 1914, *Heft* xv, 68 f. = *Sammelbuch*, III (1926), nr. 6289. Plaumann fell in the last war; otherwise he certainly would have added this identification to that made by Wilcken.

The three identifications support each other, the case for the Agathocliae being strengthened by the fact that the name is rare in pre-Roman times.

In the papyri Agathocles's father is Agathocles, Agathoclia's Theogenes.¹ Thus, if the identifications hold, Oenanthe was married at least twice. The wall-painter mentioned in Polyb. 15. 25. 32 (24) might be one of her husbands.²

By the way, it is odd that the only Agathoclia mentioned in a literary source as earlier than Philopator's mistress should be one of Philadelphus's mistresses, Athen. 576 f (from Ptol. VIII, *F.Gr. Hist.* 234. 4, Jacoby). She might owe her existence to a marginal note referring to the famous Agathoclia, whom Athenaeus mentions a few lines later.

¹ The identification of the Alexandrian διοικητής Theogenes of *P. Lille* 3 with the διοικητής of *P. Lille* 4 (prob. 218/17 B.C.) and with Θεόγος the murderer of Queen Arsinoë, Philopator (Ps.-Plut., *Proverb. Alexandr.*, No. 13 ed. Crusius), suggested by Edgar, *Ann. Serv.*, XX (1920), 198, n. 1, and *Bulletin Soc. arch. d'Alex.*, XIX (1923), 117, and considered by E. R. Bevan, *Hist. of Egypt under the Ptol. Dynasty* (1927), 220, n. 2 and 221, n. 1, seems improbable. A Theogenes was also the father of the priest of 226/5 (Plaumann, l.c.). The name is of frequent occurrence.

² Polybius had introduced Oenanthe and her family in a part of book 14, only a few fragments of which survive (ch. 11 f.; cf. Justin 30, ch. 1 f.). I see no reason to believe, with Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* IV, 1 (1925), p. 689, n. 1, and Raubitschek, *Real.-Enc. s.v. Oinanthe* (1937), that they were influential already under Euergetes; see Polyb. 15. 34. 3-6.

AN OFFICIAL CIRCULAR LETTER OF THE ARAB PERIOD¹

By SIR HAROLD BELL

THROUGH the kindness of Prof. Medea Norsa (of whose personal safety after the fighting in and around Florence all papyrologists will be pleased to have news) I have received an offprint of an article, or rather of two consecutive articles, contributed by her to the *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* in 1941. As this wartime publication is not likely to be accessible to most people in this country, it seems worth while to call attention to it, and particularly to the second of the two articles, which concerns my own special subject of documentary papyrology.

In the first article, *Due frammenti fiorentini del papiro di Bacchilide P. Brit. Mus. 733*, Prof. Norsa publishes some papyrus fragments, acquired by her at Cairo, which she recognized as from the great Bacchylides papyrus in the British Museum. Three of them she fitted together to form a single piece (fragment B); the other, fragment A, she found fitted exactly into the bottom portion of col. 5 of the papyrus. This little poem (Epin. IV, to Hieron) is now virtually complete; lines 7-10, it is true, are still imperfect (Prof. Norsa suggests on p. 159 a conjectural restoration), but it should not be beyond the powers of scholarship to find supplements likely to be generally acceptable. Fragment B seems unfortunately to come from one of the lost or very badly mutilated columns and (unless someone is more fortunate than its first editor in finding a 'join') remains isolated and, therefore, of inferior utility, though several lines are preserved in whole or in part. It seems clearly to be epinician, and contains a reference to *Ζηνὸς Νεμεαίου*.

This discovery has an importance even beyond the additions which it makes to the *corpus* of Bacchylides. The British Museum papyrus was acquired in 1896. Prof. Norsa does not state when she bought her fragments, but she remarks that they 'remained at large in the Egyptian antiquarian market for at least forty years'. I myself in 1926 purchased fragments belonging to a collection acquired by the British Museum twenty-three years before. It seems clear that we can, without undue optimism, hope for at least the possibility that problems left unsolved in a fragmentary papyrus may some day be cleared up by further fragments, left in Egypt at the time of the original acquisition.

It is, however, with the second article, *Una circolare ai ΠΑΓΑΡΧΟΙ della Tebaide del secolo VIII*, that I am more particularly concerned. In this Prof. Norsa publishes a circular letter (since republished as PSI XII 1266) addressed by a certain Jordanes to the pagarchs of the Thebaid, enclosing a copy of a letter sent to himself by the *amīr*. This papyrus is clearly not from the collection of Aphrodito papyri, represented in Vol. IV of the British Museum catalogue, but seems to be an isolated piece, like the

¹ The following special abbreviations used in this article should be explained: *PERF* = *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer: Führer durch die Ausstellung*; *UKF* = C. Wessely, *Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats* (III+VIII of *Stud. zur Pal. und Papyruskunde*).

document published by me in *JEA* XII, 265–75. It is, however, an interesting supplement to the Aphrodito series, and since I have been able, by the help of the excellent facsimile, to improve Prof. Norsa's text in a few places, and moreover differ from her interpretation in one or two respects, I feel it may be serving a useful purpose to republish the document with a commentary.

Below I print first the text of the letters, noting in the *apparatus criticus* the readings of Prof. Norsa wherever I have departed from them, second a translation, then notes on points of detail, and finally a discussion of the document as a whole. I may remark that it is imperfect at both top and bottom, though complete in width, and it measures 30 cm. × 34.5 cm.

- A 1 [circa 40–42 letters] τῷ πεμφθ(έντι) στρατιώτ(η) χ[άριν αὐτῶν(?)· εἰ]?
- 2 [δέ, ὁ μὴ] εἴη, παρ[ε]ά[σα]τ[ε] ἕνα καὶ μόνον ἵνα δώσατε νο(μίσματα) ,α ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ [κ]αὶ κινδυνεύσατε εἰς τὴν ψυχ[ήν]
- 3 ὑμῶν. Ἐὰν δὲ εἰσὶν ξένοι κεχωρ[η]χ[ό]τ[ε]ς ἐν παγαρχ(ίαις) ὑμῶν καὶ τούτους κρατήσατε καὶ πέμψατε ὑπὸ ξυλομαγγάνον.
- 4 Ἴσο(ν) σιγγέλλιον πεμφθ(έντος) μοι π[α]ρ(ὰ) τοῦ δε[σ]πό(του) μου τοῦ εὐκλε(εστάτου) ἀμυρ(ᾶ).
- B 5 + Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἰορδ[άν]ης τοῖς ἀπασιν παγάρχ(οις) Θηβαῖδ(ος). Ἐπειδὴ οἱ καλαφ(ά)τ(αι) οἱ κάμνοντες
- 6 εἰς τοὺς καράβους Βαβυλῶνος [ἐ]φυγαν καὶ ἐπετρέψαμεν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ τοποτηρητῇ μὴ εἶσαι ἕνα
- 7 καὶ μόνον καλαφ(ά)τ(ην) καὶ μὴ πέμψι τοῦτον πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ ὁ κρατῶν καλαφ(ά)τ(ην) ἢ κρύβων ἵνα δώσῃ
- 8 νο(μίσματα) ,α εἰς εὐπορεῖ, ἐπετρέψαντες ἑαυτ(ῶν) ὑποδείξαι ὑμῖν τὴν παρ(ὸν) σιγγέλλιν, λοιπὸν ὥσδε οὐκ ἐκδίδῃ
- 9 ἑαυτὸν καὶ πέμπει ὑμῖν ἐκ[α]στον καλαφ(ά)τ(ην) ὄντα εἰς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν θεωρήσασθαι καὶ ἀναγνώσθ[η]ναι.
- 10 αὐτὸν τὸ τοιοῦτο σιγγέλλιν, π[α]ρεάσας ἕνα καὶ μόνον, οὐ δεχόμεθα τὴν ὑπόστασιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ
- 11 τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ. Λοιπ[ὸν] ὥς [λ]έλεκτα, τ[ο]ὺς καλαφ(ά)τ(as) συνάξατε καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐξαλε(ι)πτικά σκάφη ὑμῶν
- 12 πέμψατε· καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑμ[ᾶ]ς μὴ ἀμφιβάλλαι τῷ παρόντ(ι) σιγγέλλῳ ἐχρησάμεν, κατόπιν δὲ
- 13 τῶν παρόντ(ων) μου γραμμ(ά)τ(ων) [ὑ]π[ὲρ] ἑτάξα[?] τὸ πεμφθέν μοι σιγγέλλιν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐκλε(εστάτου) ἀμυρᾶ διαδικ
- 14 [10 letters] π() [

1 χ[ι], N. 2 [.]εἰ η παρ[ε]α[. . .] [· ἕνα καὶ] N., suggesting παρ[ε]ά[σα]τ[ε] in a note, [καὶ μ]ὴ κινδυνεύσατε. ἵνα δώσατε, ὑπερ. 3 [ὑ]μῶν, κεχωρ[η]χ[ό]τες, ξυλομαγγάνον, N. 1. κεχωρηκότες, ξυλομαγγάνων. τουτούς. 4 ἴσο. π[α]ρὰ . . . μου, ἀμύρ, N. 5 Ἰορδ[άν]ης, παγαρχαρχ. 6 καράβους, καί. 7 καί, πρὸς, κρ[α]των, ἵνα. πεμψί (1. πέμψη) corr. from πέμψαι. 1. ἡμᾶς. 8 ,α, υμῖν, ὥσδε. 1. ἐπιτρέψαντες, τὸ, ὅστις. ἐπετρέψαντες, ὥς δ' εἰς, ἐκδίδ[ω]σι, N. 9 καί, θεωρήσασθαι, καί. 1. ἡμῖν, τὸ. θεωρήσασθαι καὶ ἀναγνώ[ν]αι, N. 1st. καὶ corr. from S (the symbol). 10 . . [·]. εἶσας, N. 11 λοιπ[ὸν] τοὺς [α] . . [·]υς, ἐξαλε(ι)πτικά, N. καί, ἐξαλε(ι)πτικά. 12 πρὸς, κατοπιν. 1. τὸ (τὸ, N.). 13 παρ' α, αὐτοῦ. γραμμ(ά)τ(ων), ἀμύρ Διαδικ, N. (Prof. Norsa writes that she prefers [ὑ]π[ὲρ] ἑτάξα[?] to ὑπ.)

‘. . . to the soldier sent on their account(?). And if (which God forbid) you leave even one single man you are to pay 1000 *solidi* for him and endanger your life. And if there are strangers who have

come to your pagarchies seize these also and send them in cangues. Copy of a mandate sent me by my master the most famous *amir*. +In the name of God: Jordanes to all the pagarchs of the Thebaid. Whereas the caulkers working on the frigates at Babylon have fled and we have charged your lieutenant not to allow even one single caulker without sending him to us, but that whoever detains a caulker or hides him shall pay 1000 *solidi* if he has the means, charging him to show you the present mandate, therefore whosoever does not submit and send us every caulker in his administrative district after he has seen and read the said mandate, leaving even one single man, we will not accept his property in lieu of his life. Wherefore, as aforesaid, collect the caulkers and send them to your (?) penal (?) hulks. And to the end that you shall be in no doubt I have employed the present mandate; and after my present letter I have appended (?) the mandate sent me by the said most famous *amir*. . . .'

1. $\chi[\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\nu\ \epsilon\iota]$: read only *exempli gratia*. χ is perhaps the beginning of the soldier's name, e.g. $\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\delta$, but that is an Arabic name (Khālid) and the soldiers mentioned in the Aphroditō papyri are regularly Copts; moreover it was there usual to write the name before the word $\sigma\tau\tau\alpha\tau\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$. $\epsilon\iota$, which is read from the end of a downstroke sloping down to the left towards the end of the line, may well have come at the beginning of l. 2; letters and spacing are so irregular in this hand that even in a limited lacuna one must always allow a variation of two or three in the number of lost letters. One might read $\chi[\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu\ \tau\omega\upsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\nu\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha]\phi[(\alpha)\tau(\omega\upsilon\nu)]|[\epsilon\iota\ (\text{or}\ \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu)]$, but the τ of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\nu$ should in that case be visible; if $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\nu$ followed $\acute{\chi}\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$ the downstroke of τ would be lost in the deeper lacuna which embraces the upper part of l. 2 at this point. In l. 3 $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ is used, but $\epsilon\iota$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ are used interchangeably at this period.

2. $\delta\ \mu\eta]$ $\epsilon\iota\eta$: I cannot quote an example of this phrase from an official letter of the Arab period, but it is not uncommon in Byzantine contracts, e.g. P. Lond. v, 1689, 18; 1695, 11 f., $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\omicron\chi\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}$, $\delta\ \mu\eta\ \epsilon\iota\eta$. So too P. Cairo Masp. III, 67301, 26.

$\kappa\alpha]$: Prof. Norsa's $[\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu]$ is impossible because (1) the κ of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ would then be visible above the lacuna, (2) the trace after the lacuna is quite inconsistent with η and obviously to be read as ι . There was no doubt a space between $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ and $\kappa\alpha\iota$, occupied by an extension of the ν (\omicron'); the upstroke of the κ is lost in a narrow lacuna above the line. The meaning is that the offender will be fined and may be put to death. But threats in official letters of the Arab period against the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ of local officials must not be taken too seriously, as the Aphroditō papyri show.

3. $\xi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu$: I have translated this by the word 'cangues', as the contrivance meant was clearly something like the Chinese instrument so called. The ν , read by Prof. Norsa υ , is spread out and straggly, to fill up space. That it is certainly ν , not υ , is shown by a comparison with the ν of $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\upsilon\nu$ in l. 11.

4. $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$: this word is used interchangeably with $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ in this document, for $\tau\omicron\ \pi\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\ \sigma\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$ in l. 8 must mean the letter of Jordanes, which in ll. 12, 13 is called both $\tau\omega\ \pi\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\tau\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega$ and $\tau\omega\upsilon\nu\ \pi\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\nu\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\upsilon\nu$. For the bearing of the present line see the General Commentary.

$\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\rho(\acute{\alpha})$: the Arab word *amir* was naturalized in Greek as $\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. Hence it is incorrect to read, as Prof. Norsa does both here and in l. 13, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\rho$. Here a horizontal line above ρ marks the abbreviation, representing α ; in l. 13 the over-written sign is the conventionalized α of such abbreviations, and the correct reading is $\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}$.

5. καλαφ(ά)τ(αι): see Becker, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, xx, p. 87. (I have been unable to verify this reference, which is taken from Prof. Norsa, as the British Museum copy of the volume in question was destroyed 'by enemy action'.)

6. [ἐ]φυγαν: the assimilation of the strong to the weak aorist is characteristic of late Greek.

τοποτηρητῇ: see the General Commentary.

7. πέμψι: a confusion of two constructions, ἐπιτρέπω with the infinitive and ἐπιτρέπω with ὅπως (so P. Lond. 1384, 28 f.) or ἵνα (so apparently P. Lond. 1394, 14). The writer's first thoughts (he wrote πέμψαι) were the better.

κρατῶν: here not 'seizing' but 'detaining'.

8. ἐὰν εὐπορεῖ: probably not 'if he is well-to-do' but 'if he has sufficient means'.

αὐτ(ῶ): before this there is an oval lacuna, occupying the space between ll. 7 and 8, but it is unnecessary to suppose that anything was lost in it, as Prof. Norsa does; αὐτῶ refers to τῶ ὑμετέρῳ τοποτηρητῇ, the words from ἀλλὰ to εὐπορεῖ being an interjected clause.

ὥσδεις: it seems much better to take this as = ὅστις than, with Prof. Norsa, as ὡς δ' εἰς (equivalent to τις). Before λοιπὸν I have changed her point to a comma, as otherwise the sentence is without construction.

ἐκδίδη: above the lacuna is a vertical stroke which looks like the top of η. Verbs in -μι frequently follow the -ω conjugation at this period.

9. ἐαυτὸν: Prof. Norsa reads εαυτον without breathing or accent and comments: 'lo scriba qui si dimostra distratto: dopo εαυτον *per ταυτα ουυερο τουτο* [the italics are mine], aveva scritto και con la solita sigla S' [in the later edition, PSI 1266, the comment is differently worded, but the same interpretation is retained]. It seems improbable that the clerk could have confused ἐαυτόν with ταῦτα: the meaning probably is as given in my translation, i.e. ἐκδοῦναι ἐαυτόν means to give way, to submit to orders.

ἀναγνῶσθ[ῆνα]ι: Prof. Norsa reads ἀναγνῶ[ναι] and supposes that the clerk then altered to ἀναγνωσθῆναι, but the space at the end can hardly have been sufficient for ναι. The construction is again confused: 'after *he has seen* the letter and *it has been* read'.

11. ἐξαλε(ι)πτικὰ: rather puzzling. Prof. Norsa (who says that an ι, which I am quite unable with any confidence to distinguish in the facsimile, was inserted later) comments (PSI XII, p. 92): 'In tutta la grecità classica e postclassica ἐξαλείφω ha il significato di *deleo, oblitero, expungo*. Quindi ἐξαλειπτικός = *ad obliterandum idoneus*. Ma qualche rara volta si trova anche ἐξαλείφω usato come il semplice ἀλείφω (Thucid. III, 20, Herod. VII, 69). Secondo i dati dei papiri, i coloni fuggiaschi, scontata la multa e la punizione, venivano rimandati al loro lavoro.' Her suggestion appears to be that ἐξαλειπτικά here may mean 'to be caulked', and this may be the correct interpretation, though it is doubtful whether a passive sense can be attributed to the word. The rendering adopted above rests on the assumption that the word has the usual active meaning somewhat toned down—'obliterating', 'destroying', and so 'punitive'. Hence the rendering 'hulks' for σκάφη, owing to the penal associations of the word. It is uncertain whether ὑμῶν should be corrected to ἡμῶν. If it is correct, we must suppose that there were local prison ships for the conveyance and punishment of fugitives and criminals; cf. P. Lond. 1433, 401 (quoted by Prof. Norsa), ναύλου πλοί(ου) βαστά(σαντος) ναύτ(ας) φ[υγ(όντας)](καὶ) ἀποστρέ(ψαντας).

12. ἀμφιβάλλαι: another form characteristic of late Greek. Prof. Norsa compares ἐκβάλλαι in Malal. 3, p. 60. The writer brought down the stroke of β as if to form λ, then drew his pen upwards to form the looped α which precedes λ, ρ, etc. Thus the total effect is of a double lambda, but probably only one was intended.

13. [ὕ]π[έταξα?]: for the π cf. the π of παγαρ^xγαρ^x in l. 5. The downstroke of ξ would probably be lost in the lacuna. But see critical note.

διαδικ: the last letter may be either κ or η, more probably the former; see the General Commentary.

GENERAL COMMENTARY

The first question which suggests itself is as to the relation between the two letters, A and B, found on the papyrus. Prof. Norsa regards the letter of Jordanes as the original, that preceding it as a copy of a letter to Jordanes, which he encloses. She is no doubt right, but it is a little surprising that she does not seem to have noticed an anomaly in the diplomatic of the document which this hypothesis involves. It is the regular practice in papyri for an enclosure to follow, not precede, the covering letter; and it is equally the rule for the words ἴσον or ἀντίγραφον κτλ. to occur as a heading to the document copied. Hence l. 4 ought by analogy to be the heading to what follows, and the letter of Jordanes should be the copy, the preceding letter the original. Moreover, in l. 12 f. Jordanes states that he has appended κατόπιν τῶν παρόντων μου γραμμάτων the letter sent him by the *amīr*; this can mean only 'after my present letter'.

Nevertheless Prof. Norsa must be right in her interpretation. The rubric in l. 4 refers to a σιγέλλιν πεμφθέν μοι. The letter of Jordanes was addressed not to an individual but 'to all the pagarchs of the Thebaid'. This difficulty might be got over by supposing that the writer of A, though referring to a circular letter, was thinking of the copy of it which he, individually, had received; but there is a further consideration, which seems conclusive. In l. 13, referring to the letter of the *amīr* of which a copy was enclosed, Jordanes speaks of τὸ πεμφθέν μοι (cf. l. 4) σιγέλλιν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐκλε(εστάτου) ἀμυρά. In his letter so far there has been no reference whatever, direct or indirect, to the *amīr*. The only occurrence of the word so far has been in the rubric, l. 4. Hence that rubric must refer to A, and in writing B Jordanes refers back to it. But how, in that case, are we to account for the κατόπιν of l. 12? I can only suggest that it is an inadvertence: the clerk who wrote the letter (one can hardly suppose that Jordanes wrote it himself) either misread an original draft or absentmindedly inserted 'after' (which, as already said, expresses the usual practice) instead of 'in front of'.

An interesting point of diplomatic arises out of this interpretation. Letter A is written in the flowing cursive hand, sloped very markedly from right to left, used, e.g., in the letters of Ḳurrah b. Sharik, letter B and the rubric which precedes it in upright minuscules. In *JEA* XII, 266, on the basis of the evidence then available, I suggested the rule: 'Official letters addressed to single officials and not intended for publication were written in the current¹ hand; official letters addressed to a multiplicity of persons and intended or adapted for public exhibition were written in the minuscule hand.'

¹ This was the name which I proposed for the flowing, sloping type of script.

So far as I am aware, no countervailing evidence has come to light since 1926, and the present papyrus brings striking confirmation of my theory: A was written to an individual (the verbs are in the plural, but no doubt the writer was referring to the recipient and all his colleagues; Jordanes definitely speaks of the letter as *πεμφθέν μοι*) and is in the current hand; B is a circular letter, to a number of people, and is in minuscules. It is noteworthy that the rule was so definite as to lead the clerk to write even the copy of the individual letter in current hand. So too in an unpublished letter-book in P. Oxy. XIX, two letters from the prefect are copied, unlike all the others, in hands clearly intended to represent Chancery script.

The second question is as to the authorship of letter A and the office held by Jordanes, the writer of B. Prof. Norska regards the latter as the duke of the Thebaid, the writer of A as the Arab governor of Egypt. She may just possibly be right in this view, but there are difficulties which lead me to doubt it strongly. The Arab word *amīr* has a somewhat vague sense, 'ruler' or 'commander', and may therefore be used in various connexions. Thus the Caliph was the *amīr al-mu'minīn* (Greek ἀμυραλμουμιν), 'Commander of the Faithful', and presumably the governor could be referred to as an *amīr*; but in Greek documents he is regularly called σύμβουλος. Not only does he always use this title himself, but when he is mentioned in local records he is invariably so termed, e.g. P. Lond. 1414, 81, εἰς(ς) οὐσία(ν) τοῦ συμβού(λου) ἐν Δαμάσκῳ; 1416, 69, δ(ι) ἐπιστάλμ(α)τ(ος) τοῦ συμβού(λου); UKF 1082 (Hermopolis), Ἀβδελαζιζ συμβούλ(ου); 915 (Fayyūm), where the same title is almost certainly to be restored (see P. Lond. 1447, 13 n.). So, too, in protocols, the governor, when mentioned, is always called σύμβουλος. On the other hand, I have failed to find any certain instance of the use of ἀμυρᾶς as meaning 'governor'. This title seems normally, in the papyri, to be borne by local officials. In UKF 474, a receipt for corn-tax, a man of Oxyrhyncha in the Fayyūm pays 20 artabas of wheat δ(ιὰ) Ἀπα Μοζεεῖ ἀμυρ(ᾶ) τοῦ σίτου Βαβυλῶνος. Here the *amīr* appears to be either the director or a local representative of the director of the government granaries at Babylon. In P. Lips. 103, 12 the word is used generally and vaguely in the plural: an oath is taken by τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν [δε]σποτῶν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀμυράτων. In several cases, e.g. P. Stud. x, 118, 3; 120, 6; 204, 3, there is no means of determining who is meant but no reason to conclude that it is the governor.¹ In P. Lond. III, p. 283, 1081, 2, ἔγραψέν μοι ὁ εὐκλεέστατος ἀμυρᾶς, I now think it likely, from the context, that the reference is to a local official rather than to the governor or anybody as far away as Fustāt. Grohmann, in CPR III, Ser. Arabica, *Protokolle*, I, Teil 2, p. 59, referring to Atias, who occurs both as ἀμυρᾶς and as ὁ εὐκλεέστατος δούξ, while admitting that both *amīr* and *dux* may, as suggested by Steinwenter (*Stud. Pal.* XIX, p. 8), have been used as a mere (honorary) title 'ohne bestimmten amtlichen Wirkungskreis', remarks that the variation of title here may be due to 'ein Avancement oder Rangerhöhung'. This was independently suggested by me in JEA XII, 269, and I still believe it likely to be the true explanation. Before becoming duke, that is, Atias had been pagarch of the Arsinoite nome, and it was probably in that capacity that he was referred to as ἀμυρᾶς. For in the great majority of cases where this title can be assigned to a particular official it is used of

¹ For P. Stud. x, 84, 2, see my suggestion recorded in BL. I, 418.

the pagarch. In the Jême papyri the pagarch is regularly so called; see Steinwenter, *Stud. Pal.* xix, p. 9. So too in P. Lond. iv, 1603 (Coptic), where Crum says: 'The amir presiding there [Sbeht?] (*ἐπικείμενος*) is mentioned.' In the context this suggests the pagarch; cf., e.g., *UKF* 260, 'Ιαειε νί(ος) 'Ηλαλ ἐπικ(είμενος) παγαρχ(ίας) 'Αρσων[ο]ίτου. In P. Stud. x, 172 recto this same man, well known as pagarch of the nome, is referred to, in a Coptic letter, as ⲁⲙⲓⲣⲁ (*amir*).

There is, however, a group of documents where it is not impossible that the title may refer to the governor. In *UKF* 1082 poll-tax is paid δ(ι') ἐπισ[τ(ο)λ(ῆ)ς] 'Αβδελαζιζ συμβούλ(ου). The reference is no doubt to the *entagion* ordering the levy.¹ Now in *UKF* 715 (= *BGU* 681); 740 (= P. Lond. 116a = Wilcken, *Chr.* 286); 741, all receipts for poll-tax and all from the Fayyûm, the tax is said to be paid κατὰ κέλευσιν 'Αβδελ' (so in 715; 741) or 'Αβδελλ' (so in 740) ἄμῖρᾱ. On the analogy of *UKF* 1082 this official may be taken as the governor, and in fact Wilcken identifies him with 'Abd-allah b. 'Abd-al-Malik, dating the receipt accordingly A.D. 705. This is, however, hazardous in view of the evidence already cited for the use of the word ἄμῖρᾱς. 'Abd-allah was a common name, as will be seen by a glance at Index 2 of P. Lond. iv, and though the governor, in his *entagia*, sent to the pagarchies the order for the raising of a tax, it was the pagarch who sent the demand notes to the individual taxpayers.² The difference of phrasing in the receipts just quoted may be significant: in the case of the σύμβουλος, δι' ἐπιστολῆς, in the case of the ἄμῖρᾱς, κατὰ κέλευσιν. It is, in fact, quite possible that the latter was a pagarch of the Arsinoite nome.

It appears, then, that there is no certain example of ἄμῖρᾱς used of the governor; in one case (*UKF* 715; 740; 741) the word may be so used but may as well, and perhaps more probably, refer to a pagarch. We must next consider the title ὁ εὐκλέεστατος. In the Aphrodito papyri (P. Lond. iv) this is used only of the duke (see also Steinwenter, op. cit., p. 7¹⁴), but at Thebes it was applied also to the pagarch, side by side with the less frequent ἐνδοξότατος. At Aphrodito the pagarch has the title ἐνδοξότατος³ but is also called ἰλλούστριος. The former title is also applied to a νομικός (P. Lond. 1435, 159), to the *chartularii* at Fustât (P. Lond. 1447, 137, 139, 141, etc.), and to the διοικητής of Damietta (P. Lond. 1449, 49). I know no case where any one of these titles is applied to the governor. In the Aphrodito papyri, where he has a title at all, the latter is normally πανεύφημος but also, in conjunction with this and in Coptic documents, ὑπερφύεστατος; see, e.g., P. Lond. 1494, 7 (Coptic): 'our lord, the all-famous (πανεύφημος) Korra, most wonderful governor (ὑπερφύεστατος σύμβουλος), through you, most glorious (ἐνδοξότατος) lord, master (κύρις) Basil, by God's will, *illustris* and pagarch (παγ.) of Jkôw.'

For these reasons I cannot but doubt the view that ὁ ἰλλούστριος ἄμῖρᾱς can be the governor. But if he is not, who then can he be? One would naturally conjecture him to be the duke, but in that case what was the function of Jordanes? Obviously he was

¹ I have dealt with the *entagion* form of document in *The Arabic Bilingual Entagion*, *Proc. American Philological Society*, LXXXIX (1945), 531-42.

² See the article mentioned in the previous note.

³ Steinwenter's statement (op. cit., p. 9), 'während er [der Pagarch] in Lond. iv regelmässig ἰλλούστριος genannt wird', thus requires modification. In the Greek documents he is regularly ἐνδοξότατος, in the Coptic that and ἰλλούστριος.

not a pagarch, for he issues orders to all the pagarchs of the Thebaid, unless indeed we suppose him to have held a special position among them, such as is perhaps indicated by the title of a pagarch mentioned in the Jême papyri, e.g. SB. 5578, ἐπὶ Φλ(ανίω) Σαὰλ υἱῶ Ἀβδέλλα τῷ ἐνδ(οξοτάτῳ) ἀμυρᾷ ἀπὸ παραρχ(ῶν) Διοσπ(ό)λ(εως) ἕως Λάτω(ν πόλεως), SB. 5582, ἐπὶ Φλανίω Σαὰλ τῷ εὐκλε(εστάτῳ) ἀμυρᾷ ἀπὸ Διοσπ(ό)λ(εως) ἕξ(ς) Λάτω(ν πόλεως) παγάρχη. This, however, does not seem very likely, nor is it easy to find room for an intermediate official between the duke and the pagarchs. On the whole it is probably best to conclude that Jordanes was indeed the duke and that the writer of A was, not indeed the governor, but some high official at Fustāt, perhaps the minister of justice, or the head of the dockyard administration.

Prof. Norsa, indeed, not only takes A to be from the governor but identifies him and thereby dates the document. She reads in l. 13 ἀμὴρ Διαδικ, taking the latter word as the name Wādiḥ. Wādiḥ was governor in A.H. 162 = A.D. 779. This view seems to me improbable in the extreme. I cannot believe that any competent clerk (and the present document is well written and in Greek correct enough according to the standards of the time) would either represent Arabic *w* by δι or misread the name of the governor, written in the draft before him οναδικ, as διαδικ (unless indeed ο' was made with the υ symbol so close to ο and with so long a tail as to appear like δι, but this is hardly likely). There is, however, a further objection. A.D. 779 would be quite extraordinarily late for the present document. Jordanes, who was either the duke or some other high official, was obviously a Christian and begins his letter with the Christian cross. According to the *History of the Patriarchs* (*Patr. Or.* v, 52), quoted by me in *JEA* xii, 273, n. 1, el-Aṣḥagh 'forced many persons to become Muslims, among them being Peter, governor of Upper Egypt', and I suggested that, since 'the other dukes known to us, all later than 705, were Arabs', this may mark the introduction of a new policy, whereby all the higher local officials were required to be Muslims. Basil, the pagarch of Aphrodito (not a very important pagarchy) in A.D. 709-11, was a Christian, but by the end of the second decade of the eighth century Muslims begin to appear as pagarchs. I have proposed (*JEA* xii, 272) to bring down 'Atīyyah, who occurs both as pagarch of the Arsinoite nome and as duke of the Thebaid, from the nineties of the seventh century to the indiction period beginning in A.D. 702, which would make him duke in A.D. 712 at latest and pagarch as early as A.D. 709-10. Heracleopolis had a Mohammedan pagarch in A.D. 719 (P. Grenf. II, 105, 106 = *UKF* 258, 259) and another in A.D. 722 (*UKF* 1195; cf. *UKF* 1083, *P. Stud.* x, 197). Yaḥya b. Hilāl, who occurs as pagarch of the Arsinoite nome (*UKF* 260, 1199, 1200), wrote a letter (*PERF* 608) dated in A.D. 745; hence the indiction period from which date the documents bearing his name just referred to may be either that beginning in A.D. 717 or that beginning in 732.¹

When even pagarchs were increasingly Muslims it is hardly thinkable that as late as A.D. 779 a Christian should be found in a post so important as that occupied by Jordanes. Even the language of this document makes against Prof. Norsa's date.

¹ The reasons for the identification of all these officials as pagarchs are given in the article in the *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society already referred to.

The latest dated bilingual protocols in Grohmann's collection are of the period A.D. 720-4, the earliest purely Arab protocol is of the year A.H. 114 = A.D. 732. All the evidence points to the increasing disuse of Greek in favour of Arabic for official purposes, and if this was the case even under the 'Umayyads it seems inconceivable that under an 'Abbāsid Caliph, as late as A.D. 779, the governor would be corresponding with a local official of high rank in anything but Arabic. Grohmann in *Ét. de Pap.* I, 79 and in *CPR* III, Ser. Ar., I, 1, p. 20, argues against Becker that the use of Greek went on even for official purposes into the 'Abbāsid period, but the documents he cites are quite irrelevant to the present issue and certainly give no support to the supposition that as late as A.D. 779 the governor would write to a subordinate in Greek.

Wādih may, then, be dismissed from the picture, and the Christianity of Jordanes is an argument for placing the letter not later than about A.D. 706. The writer of A may, even if we reject Wādih, have been the governor, but for the reasons stated above this is improbable. It cannot be objected to the view I have expressed that $\delta \epsilon \nu \kappa \lambda \epsilon \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \omicron \varsigma \acute{\alpha} \mu \rho \acute{\alpha} \varsigma$, without the name, ought to refer to a familiar figure, either the local or the central governor, for the writer of A would of course give his name and probably also his title, which it was therefore unnecessary to repeat. How *διαδικ* or *διαδιη* (see note *ad loc.*) is to be interpreted and completed I am unable with any confidence to suggest.

The subject of the letters has been sufficiently discussed by Prof. Norsa. The 'fugitives', who play so large a part in the Aphrodito papyri, were doubtless in the main peasants who had abandoned their holdings, in the manner traditional in Egypt whenever conditions became intolerable, and had fled to other pagarchies, but in P. Lond. 1433, 323, 401, we hear of sailors who had fled and been sent back to Babylon. There, too, the fugitives were required for naval purposes, but in the present case they are caulkers, not sailors. The *ξένοι* mentioned in l. 3, on the other hand, were presumably of the same class as the *φυγάδες* of the Aphrodito papyri. The amount of the fine to be imposed on defaulters, no less a sum than 1,000 *solidi*, shows the importance attached to their services, which were indeed essential if the fleet was to be serviceable; cf. P. Ross.-Georg. 6+P. Lond. 1391, 3-7, *διηνεκῶς χρεοποιοῦμε[θα τέκτονας καὶ καλαφάτας λόγῳ φιλοκαλείας τῶν καράβων κ[α]ὶ ἀκατίων καὶ δρομοναρίων καὶ ἐ[τ]έρων διαφόρων ἐπιταγ[μάτων τοῦ δημοσίου. οὐδεὶς γὰρ] τρόπος ἐστὶ ἄνευ αὐτῶν τελειωθῆναι τὰ τοιαῦτ[α] ἐπιτάγματα· εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ ἐπωφελεῖς τοῖς τῆς χώρας.* Prof. Norsa remarks that 'non risulta come doveva essere ripartita la multa di mille nomismata', but concludes, 'parrebbe che i ν^ο, α, dovessero esser pagati dal καλαφάτης stesso e con lui [these last three words in PSI. XII, p. 89, not in the *editio princeps*] κρατῶν ἢ κρυβῶν (*sic*) ἐὰν εὐπορεῖ; e in tal caso la multa sarebbe molto forte'. But surely the meaning is clear: ἵνα δώσατε νο(μ.) α, says the writer of A, addressing Jordanes and his colleagues, and the whole tenor of B goes to show that $\delta \kappa \rho \alpha \tau \omega \nu$ κτλ. is either the pagarch who defaults or his τοποτηρητής. The caulkers themselves would obviously be unable to pay such a fine; it was the pagarchs or their agents on whom the penalty fell, though that does not exclude the possibility that some (corporal?) punishment would be exacted from the fugitives also. As explained in the note *ad loc.*, the words ἐὰν εὐπορεῖ no doubt mean 'if he has the means'. What would

happen if he had not does not appear. At the end Jordanes declares that he will not accept the pagarch's property in lieu of his life, but these threats were common form at the period; quite possibly defaulters would in fact suffer nothing more than a crushing fine.

The word *τοποτηρητής* is explained by Prof. Norsa (citing Mlle Rouillard's *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*, 2nd ed., 49, 151 f., 210) as the representative of the pagarch with the duke, and she appears to assume that each pagarch had his own *τοποτηρητής*. In both views she is probably right. We know from the Aphrodito papyri that each pagarch had his representative with the governor (*ἀποκρισιάρχιος* or *ὁ ἐκ προσώπου*, e.g. P. Lond. 1360), and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he might have another with the duke; Prof. Norsa suggests that the same agent may, according to the exigencies of the case, have been stationed now with the governor, now with the duke, but this is less likely. The words *τῷ ὑμετέρῳ τοποτηρητῇ* are thus an inexactness of expression; more properly the plural might have been used. It appears from P. Lond. 1360 that in case of default by the pagarch his *ἀποκρισιάρχιος* might be held to account; hence the question whether *ὁ κρατῶν* κτλ. refers to a pagarch or a *τοποτηρητής* does not affect the gist of the order: either might have to pay the fine in case of disobedience. There is, however, a possible alternative explanation: *υμετερω* in l. 6 was phonetically equivalent to *ημετερω*, and it may be that Jordanes means 'our lieutenant'. The context, especially *καὶ μὴ πέμψι τοῦτον πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ ὁ κρατῶν* κτλ, makes against this, but it cannot be excluded, if we suppose a certain clumsiness in the wording.

It remains to determine the exact bearing of the orders given by Jordanes. Some uncertainty is caused by the phonetic equivalence, at this period, of *η* and *υ* and the consequent confusion of *ὑμεῖς* and *ἡμεῖς*. It is probable, however, that in l. 7 *ὑμᾶς* should be *ἡμᾶς* and in l. 9 *ὑμῖν* should be *ἡμῖν*, i.e. the caulkers were to be sent by the pagarchs or their agents to Jordanes for despatch to Babylon. It is more doubtful whether in l. 11 *ὑμῶν* should be *ἡμῶν*. This is very possible, but it is not out of the question that the pagarchs had their own *σκάφη*, to which offenders could be sent.

Lastly, a word is called for about the dots which occur frequently on the papyrus. Such dots (sometimes varied, though not in this document, by an apostrophe) are a regular feature of official letters in the Arab period. When I first began to work at the Aphrodito papyri I assumed that they were accidental blots, but I soon found that they were far too definite and purposive to be so explained. It is, however, hard to find any principle in their use. They occur at the division of two words (*ῥαδωσατε*, l. 2), over *υ* (*ὑπερ*, *ibid.*), over a combination of two consonants (*πρὸς*, *κρατων*, l. 7), over *ι*, either alone (*υμῖν*, l. 8) or as part of a diphthong (*καί*, l. 7), but there is no systematic carrying out of these practices; the dot may come over a single consonant (*θεωρήσαι*, l. 9), a single vowel other than *υ* or *ι* (*εξαλέπτικα*, l. 11), at the end of a word (*καί*, several times, *κατοπιν*, l. 12) or in the middle. The scribes must have had some object in the practice; perhaps it was merely aesthetic in its purpose, like the patches worn by beauties in the eighteenth century.



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ALEXANDRIAN COINS ACQUIRED BY THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD

By J. G. MILNE

SINCE the publication of the *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum* in 1933,¹ the collection has been increased by the addition of nearly 600 specimens, of which the greater part come from college cabinets which have been deposited on loan at the museum. The most important of these is the Christ Church cabinet, the Greek section of which is of special interest as having been virtually founded by the bequest of Archbishop Wake in 1737:² it provides evidence of the classes of coins which were then in the English antiquity-market, and there is no comparable evidence, so far as Alexandrian coins are concerned, to be found in Oxford earlier than that of the Douce collection, which was bequeathed to the Bodleian almost a century later. The contents of the Wake cabinet suggest that there were few hoards of billon tetradrachms coming from Egypt at this period, such as have poured into the market during the last fifty years: the Christ Church collection is strongest in bronze, particularly the large bronze drachmas, which were not hoarded to anything like the same extent as the billon. The best specimens of these drachmas, now at any rate, are obtained from old rubbish mounds and the like: the Cairo dealers of the eighteenth century probably drew their supplies from the casual finds of the fellaheen.

Most of the coins in the collections lately added to the Museum cabinets are of types already included in the Catalogue; but these collections, together with smaller donations and a few purchases, have resulted in the entry of over 100 new varieties on the list, some of which are worth detailed description, especially in connexion with the light they throw on the procedure of the Alexandrian mint. As their chief importance lies in the reverse types, and nearly all the obverse types fall into the classification used in the Catalogue, for the sake of brevity this scheme has been followed as regards the obverses wherever possible.

AUGUSTUS. Æ dichalcus: *obv.*, Fa; *rev.* Ω CE BACT OC Capricorn l., head r., below, ΝΥ: 16 mm., 2.13 g.: (Grantley sale). Plate XIII, 1.

This coin was attributed by the late owner to Corcyra; but it is certainly from the Levantine area, and almost certainly Alexandrian: there is no other series into which it can be fitted. The surface of the coin is damaged at the bottom of the reverse, but there are traces of the year-symbol Λ before the Σ; and, if this reading is correct, the date is a year earlier than the first hitherto unquestionably recorded for a Roman issue at Alexandria. According to the classification in *The Alexandrian Coinage of Augustus*³

¹ References in the notes to the Ashmolean Catalogue are given as *A.M.C.*, to the British Museum Catalogues as *B.M.C.*, to G. Dattari's *Numi Alexandrini* as *D.*

² See C. H. V. Sutherland on the Wake Collection in *Oxoniensia*, v (1940), p. 140.

³ *J.E.A.* XIII (1927), 135.

there were undated coins, falling into three groups, which can be assigned to the first half of his reign, up to his 22nd Egyptian year: these were followed by a group of rather mixed character, including a few coins dated in year 28, together with a larger issue without a year-date, but bearing the title *Pater Patriae* which was conferred on Augustus on February 5 in his 28th year. This coin of year 27 resembles in its style the coins dated in year 28, which are all small bronze pieces, presumably reckoned as obols and dichalci: the *Pater Patriae* coins are larger, mainly diobols, and of better workmanship. This group may be associated with the change-over from Ptolemaic to Roman standards of currency in Egypt: the first issues of Augustus are shown by the marks of value to have been struck in continuation of the coinage of Cleopatra, which was on the standard of the Ptolemaic bronze drachma with an exchange value of 500:1 against the Attic silver drachma or the Roman denarius:¹ sometime between year 22 and year 27 the currency was reformed and based on the Attic silver standard. Thereafter statements of accounts were normally expressed in silver drachmas, not in bronze: even at the end of the third century, when the metal content of the coinage had deteriorated so far that the tetradrachm, nominally of silver, had only the merest trace of silver in its composition, it was still called an 'Attic' tetradrachm.

NERO. Æ diobol: *obv.*, Σ ΝΕΡΩΝΟΣ Σ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ Head r., laureate: *rev.*, Nike advancing l., <a²>, in field, L Δ: 23 mm., 10.50 g.: (Evans bequest). Plate XIII, 2.

Like the coin last described, this is a novelty in the Alexandrian series, but it can be assigned to that mint on grounds of style and fabric. There was very little bronze struck at Alexandria in the reign of Nero: except for this coin, the earliest bronze known is one of year 6, and from year 8 onwards a few types appeared each year, but not more than three in any year till 14, the last of the reign. Specimens of all these issues are rare, in marked contrast to the abundance of Neronian debased silver tetradachms. A measure of the relative amounts of billon and bronze in circulation can be obtained from the finds in the rubbish-mounds of Oxyrhynchus, which produced 8 billon and 3 bronze coins of Nero, in contrast to 1 and 25 respectively of Claudius: from the whole period of Roman rule down to the cessation of regular bronze issues under Marcus Aurelius the numbers are 20 and 316.² The policy of the Alexandrian mint in this reign provides an economic problem: there had been fairly large issues of both metals under Tiberius and Claudius, but in years 3 to 6 of Nero there was increased output of billon, with practically no bronze, followed by a pause of two years without any billon: then, after a small issue of billon in year 9, the output swelled enormously for the next five years, reaching a peak in year 12. The billon tetradrachms of these five years were so abundant that they form a disproportionately large part of the contents of the hoards which have been found and of which the burial can be dated in the next hundred years after Nero; and even a hundred years later again they sometimes appear in quantity.³ There is no allusion in contemporary documents to any economic reason for this specialized activity of the mint: it may be that the government had taken alarm at the signs of a decline in prosperity which became very evident soon afterwards, and tried to counteract it by pouring out vast quantities of coin.

¹ For the equation, see Festus, p. 492 (ed. Lindsay).

² *J.E.A.* VIII (1922), 158.

³ See Appendix.

NERO. Æ diobol: *obv.*, Eb: *rev.*, ἙΛΕΝΑ ΝΤΟΥ Hawk standing r., <a²>: 24 mm., 7.95 g.: (Christ Church). Plate XIII, 3.

This is the first bronze coin of year 9 to be recorded, though a few are known from years 8 and 10. The type of the reverse recurs in year 10, and became a stock type for small bronze under the Flavian Emperors.

VESPASIAN. Bi. tetradrachm: *obv.*, B₁b, to r. ⚭ cut over ⚭: *rev.*, QAYTOKPATΩPTITOS-KAIΣAP Head of Titus r.: 25 mm., 12.97 g.: (don. Mrs. Hunt: from Behnesa). Plate XIII, 4.

The alteration of the date on the obverse of this coin can probably be explained as due to a change in the policy of the mint at Alexandria in year 4 of Vespasian. There is in the British Museum a single tetradrachm dated in that year, with the head of Titus on the reverse and a legend giving his name in the formula, without the title of Imperator, which had been used in the three previous years;¹ but no other specimen is recorded, nor are any other billon coins of year 4 of Vespasian known. Here the head of Titus recurs, but with the legend usual in years 8 and 9; and the date of his father's reign is altered from 4 to 8. It may be suggested that the mint officials had prepared a die for striking tetradrachms in year 4, and had actually struck a few proofs: then orders came to stop the issue of billon, and they put away the die, but sent the proofs into circulation. No tetradrachms were struck in years 5, 6, and 7; but when in year 8 it was decided to resume the issue, the old and little-used obverse die was brought out and redated by a rather clumsy recutting. A new reverse die was made, though the type was again the head of Titus: his official title was altered, and a fresh portrait introduced. Probably the authorities at Alexandria realized in year 3 that the currency was overloaded with tetradrachms, and decided to adjust the balance by coining bronze alone:² in the next twenty years there were only small issues of billon in years 8 of Vespasian 2 and 3 of Titus, 2, 6, and 8 of Domitian, and 1 of Nerva, though there was a steady flow of bronze except under Titus and Nerva.

TRAJAN. Æ diobol: *obv.* D₃b: *rev.*, Bust of Alexandria r., <a¹>, in field L 1A: 24 mm., 7.00 g.: (Christ Church). Plate XIII, 5.

This coin may be noted as the last bronze diobol which has as the reverse type the bust of Alexandria. This had been a stock type for tetradrachms of Nero, Galba, and Otho: when the bronze coinage was revived and organized under Galba and Vespasian, there seems to have been an attempt to appropriate special types to certain denominations: in year 8 of Vespasian Alexandria became the regular type for the diobol, replacing Sarapis and Isis, who had figured on earlier diobols, and so continued into the first years of Domitian. In year 10 of the latter emperor, however, there was a complete reorganization of the mint, and the appropriation of types was abandoned: Alexandria reappeared as a tetradrachm type, and this coin is a solitary instance of its recurrence on a diobol: it is found once more on bronze, but on a drachma, at the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius.³ The method of distinguishing denominations by the reverse types, which was common enough in Greek coinages, does not seem ever to

¹ *B.M.C. Alexandria*, p. 28, no. 224.

² See Appendix.

³ See the chronological list of types in *A.M.C.*, pp. xlix-lxvi.

have been favoured at Alexandria: one reason for this may be that the Ptolemaic denominations of bronze had usually been distinguished by their size rather than by the types, and the Egyptian peasants would understand size as a test of value more readily than types or legends.

TRAJAN. Æ drachma: *obv.*, D₄b₂: *rev.*, Sarapis standing r. in quadriga <b¹>, above, L1Δ: 33 mm., 20·77 g.: (Christ Church). Plate XIII, 6.

The earliest instance of the type of Sarapis in a quadriga published hitherto is dated in year 17 of Hadrian,¹ after which it recurs several times on bronze drachmas, and under Antoninus Pius on billon: the coins of Hadrian show a preference for placing the group to front, with the horses prancing. It is not surprising, however, to find the type in the reign of Trajan, when the artists of the mint at Alexandria busied themselves with designing fresh varieties of types for the drachmas, probably prompted by the example of the mint at Rome, which was dealing similarly with the types of the large bronze sestertii. There was a purpose in the practice at Rome in the use of the coinage for Imperial propaganda which would not apply to Egyptian conditions, and it is unnecessary to seek a difference in meaning between the walking horses of the type under Trajan and the prancing horses under Hadrian.²

TRAJAN. Æ drachma: *obv.*, D₂l₄: *rev.*, Nike advancing l., wearing long chiton, holding in r. hand wreath over trophy of helmet, cuirass, and two oval shields, in l. palm; to l. of trophy, man standing l. pinioned, wearing pointed cap; to r. of it, draped female wearing mural crown kneeling r.; in centre of field, L1Z: 35 mm., 22·27 g.: (Christ Church). Plate XIII, 7.

The reverse of this type was illustrated by Vogt from a specimen at Berlin,³ and it was referred by him to the victories of Trajan; but it may be questioned whether he was right in identifying the kneeling female as representing Armenia. He gives as the ground for his identification the statement that she, as well as the pinioned man, wears a tiara of Armenian style; but this is not clear from his illustration, and on the Christ Church specimen her head-dress looks more like a mural crown, which would not be appropriate for Armenia. A figure, presumably the same female kneeling in the same attitude by the same trophy, appears on another Alexandrian drachma of this year, where she is kneeling before Trajan, who is in military dress and is seated on what resembles a *sella curulis*, but was probably meant by the artist for a *sella castrensis*: the British Museum Catalogue takes her head-dress on its specimen of this coin to be a mural crown.⁴ Moreover, it is not probable that a reference to the conquest of Armenia would be found on a coin struck at Alexandria in year 17 of Trajan: the Armenian campaign can hardly have been concluded before Midsummer 114, and the news would not be likely to have reached Alexandria by the end of August, the last month in Trajan's 17th Egyptian year: the conquest of Armenia was not announced on the Imperial coinage at Rome till two years later,⁵ and the Alexandrian mint was not in the habit of anticipating the Roman. It seems better to take the reference on this coin as

¹ *A.M.C.*, pl. iv, no. 1371.

³ J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, pl. I, 3.

⁵ *B.M.C. Roman Empire*, pl. xlii, nos. 6, 7, 8.

² On the choice of types, see *A.M.C.*, pp. xxxv–xl.

⁴ *B.M.C. Alexandria*, pl. xxvii, no. 532.

to an earlier victory, possibly to the settlement of the province of Dacia after the second Dacian war, which seems to have been completed in 113/14: then the kneeling female might be Dacia wearing a mural crown in token of the grant of some form of civic organization.

HADRIAN. Æ drachma: *obv.*, Gb₂: *rev.*, Two canopi standing to front between two Corinthian columns with a curved arch over and curving steps below: in field, L H: 34 mm., 20.17 g.: (Welldon sale). Plate XIII, 8.

Dattari's attribution of a coin of this type to an uncertain year of Trajan can be corrected: he illustrates only the reverse, the date on which is illegible, but it agrees otherwise with the Oxford specimen, and from his text there seems to be little to be made of the obverse.¹ The setting is peculiar: if the columns and arch are meant to represent a shrine, it is of a style which is not found on any other Alexandrian coin, nor does it resemble any building of the Roman period now known in Egypt. It looks as if the artist had seen a sestertius of Trajan of the Roman mint, which shows the *Aqua Traiana* as a river-god reclining in a grotto,² and thought that such a grotto would be a suitable frame for the two Canopi: unintelligent copies of Roman types occur several times in the Alexandrian series. It is doubtful whether the representations of buildings on coins of this series can be taken as a guide to the appearance of those buildings, or indeed as evidence that such buildings existed, except in the case of the Pharos: certainly the porticoes or façades of temples and shrines with a statue or two inside them cannot be trusted as even summary sketches of actual buildings, and they are probably mere frames of conventional kinds for the statues. Some of the statues figured are of deities who are not known to have been worshipped in Alexandria,³ and it is quite clear that the men who designed the dies for the mint knew nothing of Egyptian worships outside the capital. If there was a temple of the Canopi, at Alexandria or elsewhere, the coin-types provide a choice of styles, Greek and Egyptian, for anyone who hopes to identify it: the most attractive is the pylon-frontage depicted on coins of Marcus Aurelius.⁴

HADRIAN. Æ drachma: *obv.*, J₂k₂: *rev.*, ∂CABEINA ∫CEBACTH Bust of Sabina r., draped and wearing necklace, hair rolled over head; in field, L KA: 34 mm., 23.76 g.: (Christ Church). Plate XIII, 9.

This coin, the first of the Alexandrian mint with a bust of Sabina and a date after year 20 of Hadrian to be published, may give a clue to the date of Sabina's death. It is generally accepted that she died in A.D. 136, but there is no exact evidence: as Hadrian's 21st Egyptian year began on August 30, 136, it would appear that either her death was after that day, or the news of it had not then reached Alexandria. As only this one specimen of one type is known, it may be held to indicate that she died shortly before or shortly after August 30.

ANTONINUS PIUS. Æ drachma: *obv.*, A₂j₂: *rev.*, ∫ET O ∂ V C, to r. B Nilus seated l., with crown of lotus and drapery over legs, holding in r. hand two ears of corn, on hippopotamus walking l.: 35 mm., 25.68 g.: (Welldon sale). Plate XIII, 10.

¹ D. 1132.

² B.M.C. Roman Empire, pl. xxxiii. 3.

³ See for instance the last coin described below.

⁴ D. 3569, pl. xxx.

Specimens of this coin have been described in Dattari's, Feuardent's, and the British Museum Catalogues,¹ but no satisfactory illustration of the reverse exists: that in the British Museum Catalogue shows that the date has been misread in the text as ϵ instead of B. It is interesting as an example of the pictorial tendency of the Alexandrian mint at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus,² though the artist does not seem to have been successful in his representation of the hippopotamus.

ANTONINUS PIUS. \mathcal{A} drachma: *obv.*, A₃b: *rev.*, Temple-front with papyrus columns, lotus capitals, and rounded pediment in which disk with uraei: within, figure of Harpocrates standing to front, head l., wearing skhent, himation over l. arm and round legs, r. hand pointing to mouth, cornucopiae on l. arm; before him, altar: in exergue, $\mathcal{L}\epsilon$: 33 mm., 25.18 g.: (Christ Church). Plate XIII, 11.

Another type of Harpocrates in a temple-front, of the same year, has been published and illustrated by Dattari:³ it differs from this one in the fact that the altar is replaced by a ram, which marks the deity as Harpocrates of Mendes. The artist seems to have designed a general type of Harpocrates and then localized it by minor adjuncts: a coin of Trajan shows a similar temple-front with a figure of Harpocrates of Herakleopolis,⁴ a type repeated under Hadrian.

APPENDIX

The continued circulation of tetradrachms of the period from Nero 10 to Vespasian 3 can be illustrated by statistics of a few hoards of later date. In the table, 'last date' is the year of issue of the latest coin in the hoard: 'total content' the number of coins (all of them tetradrachms) in the hoard.

Last date . . .	127/8	156/7	164/5	169/70	190/1	276/7	285/6
Total content . . .	62	862	4,348	98	2,238	2,147	2,293
Year 63/4 Nero 10 . . .	9	122	319	6	190	76	136
" 64/5 " 11 . . .	10	130	565	10	245	148	339
" 65/6 " 12 . . .	14	104	612	8	299	223	444
" 66/7 " 13 . . .	7	86	505	11	264	171	355
" 67/8 " 14 } Galba 1 }	1	49	382	8	186	79	173
" 68/9 " 2 to } Vespasian 1 }	4	17	189	—	56	27	67
" 69/70 " 2 . . .	3	10	176	4	83	28	60
" 70/1 " 3 . . .	1	—	17	—	7	1	6

The first four of these hoards fall within the period during which the standard of the Alexandrian tetradrachm was fairly constant, and there was no reason why the issues of one year should be preferred to another for purposes of hoarding: the figures may thus be taken as a guide to the composition of the currency at the time of the burial of each hoard, approximately the date of the latest coin in the hoard. (I can vouch for the accuracy of this as regards the third in the table, as I was present when it was dug up and counted the coins as soon as they were poured out of the jars in which they had been buried.) The normal rate of wastage of Alexandrian coins in circulation was calculated by Professor Petrie to have been about one-half per cent. per annum: in view of this, as the issues of Nero 11, 12, and 13 still supplied each about one-eighth of the circulation a hundred years after their striking, the original output must have been extraordinary. The fifth hoard,

¹ D. 2774; Feuardent 1550; *B.M.C. Alexandria*, pl. xxi, no. 1157.

² See *J.E.A.* xxix (1943), 65.

³ D. 1135.

⁴ D. 1953.

deposited soon after the standard had begun to depreciate under Commodus, agrees generally with this conclusion: the two last, of much later date, are more puzzling. Under ordinary conditions of wastage, the tetradrachms of Nero should have almost vanished from circulation in the course of two centuries: yet in these two hoards they form almost the same proportion as in those of a century earlier. The explanation was suggested to me by Professor Petrie—that when the depreciation began under Commodus, old tetradrachms of the better standard were hoarded and remained in the hoards for indefinite periods while they were passed down in the families of the first owners: the composition of the two hoards in question would therefore furnish evidence, so far as the undepreciated coins in it went, of the circulation in the reign of Commodus. This is supported by the fact that hoards which appear, from their composition, to have been formed from the coins in circulation during the third century, contain very few of the earlier tetradrachms: for instance, a hoard probably accumulated between 235 and 269, in which were specimens in unworn condition of nearly every year between those dates, had only one coin, of 163/4, earlier than Commodus. (The hoard is described in full in *Univ. of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Ser.* xxx, p. 60.)

A clue to the motives which prompted the expansion of the currency in the reign of Nero may perhaps be found in the fact that the period of expansion was almost coincident with the prefecture of Tiberius Julius Alexander: the exact date when he took up office is not known, but it must have been before June 3, 66, when King Agrippa was absent from Jerusalem on a visit to him (Josephus, *B. J.* II, 15, 1), and he presumably vacated the post in the spring of 70, when he went to Judaea with drafts from the legions in Egypt to be chief of staff to Titus (Josephus, *B. J.* VI, 45). He was an Alexandrian Jew, and his probable predecessor, Ponticus, was an Oriental freedman, who may have succeeded C. Caecina Tuscus, another Oriental, who was prefect about 63. All three might be expected to represent the business interests of Alexandria, and so to have been led to attempt a remedy for financial depression which might have been of temporary service to shipping merchants, but would be quite ineffective in the country. At any rate, it is clear that the tetradrachm issue faded out speedily after the departure of Alexander: and the process may have been speeded up by the economic sense of Vespasian, who knew Alexandria.

LA CONTRIBUTION DE LA SYRIE ANCIENNE A L'INVENTION DU BRONZE

Par CLAUDE F. A. SCHAEFFER

A LA suite d'une suggestion de Mr. Lucas selon laquelle le bronze en tant qu'alliage de cuivre et d'étain fut découvert accidentellement à l'occasion de la fusion d'un mélange de minerais des deux métaux,¹ Mr. G. A. Wainwright a formulé l'intéressante hypothèse qu'un tel mélange avait pu être rencontré dans la région de Gebeil, l'ancienne Byblos sur la côte syrienne.² En effet, deux torrents, le Nahr Feidar (l'ancien Phaëdrus) et le Nahr Ibrahim (l'ancien Adonis) atteignent ici la mer à environ 2 km. respectivement 6 km. au Sud de Byblos après avoir traversé les montagnes d'Esrouan (Kesrwan) connues pour contenir d'assez importants gisements de minerais de cuivre et d'étain.³ Dans le lit et à l'embouchure de ces deux torrents, les graviers pouvaient fort bien renfermer pêle-mêle des galets provenant des deux minerais, lesquels, après fusion, auraient fourni un bronze pour ainsi dire spontané ou naturel.

De son côté le professeur Battiscombe Gunn suggère que ce bronze naturel avait pu être connu des anciens Égyptiens sous le nom de 'cuivre d'Asie' (*bi Štt*), expression qui, sous une graphie légèrement différente se rencontre dans des inscriptions pouvant remonter jusqu'à la fin de la sixième dynastie,⁴ en chiffres ronds, vers 2400. C'est l'époque à partir de laquelle, il semble que le bronze avait commencé à être utilisé en Egypte.⁵

Des découvertes faites à Ras Shamra-Ugarit aussi bien qu'à Byblos viennent, très heureusement, appuyer ces diverses suggestions.

Dans les couches supérieures du niveau III de Ras Shamra, nous avons trouvé des pointes de lance à soie,⁶ Pl. XIV, fig. 1, d'un type fréquent en Syrie septentrionale; nous l'exposons ailleurs, il avait atteint, au Sud, la Palestine et en direction du Nord et Nord-Est le Caucase et la Perse septentrionale. Selon la chronologie de Ras Shamra, ce type d'armes peut, avec certitude, être attribué à l'Ugarit Ancien et au début de l'Ugarit

¹ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 2^e édit., London, 1934, p. 175.

² G. A. Wainwright, *The Occurrence of Tin and Copper near Byblos*, dans *JEA* xx, 29 et suiv.

³ G. A. Wainwright, op. cit., p. 29.

⁴ G. A. Wainwright, faisant état d'une suggestion du professeur Battiscombe Gunn, *Antiquity*, 1943, p. 96 (*Egyptian Bronze-Making*).

⁵ A. Lucas, op. cit., p. 177.

⁶ Ce type d'armes a parfois été considéré comme ayant servi de poignard à cause de l'extrémité recourbée de la soie qui semblait indiquer un manche assez court. A propos du poignard chypriote, nous avons montré dès 1936 (cf. nos *Missions en Chypre*, p. 42 et suiv., fig. 16 et pl. xxiii) que la soie courte et recourbée pouvait fort bien être fixée au sommet du manche d'un javelot ou d'une lance. Des découvertes faites depuis à Tépé Hissar (E. F. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar-Damghan*, Philadelphie, 1937, p. 203, pl. li) nous ont donné raison: ce type d'armes a effectivement servi de pointe de lance comme les pièces encore munies des éléments du manche recueillies sur ce site le démontrent.

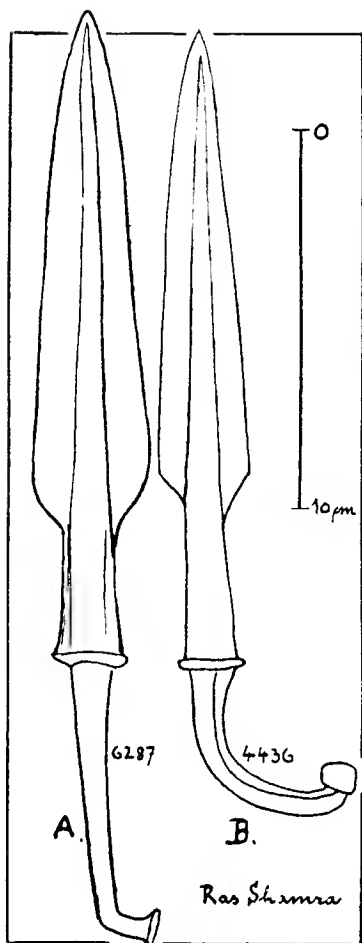


FIG. 1

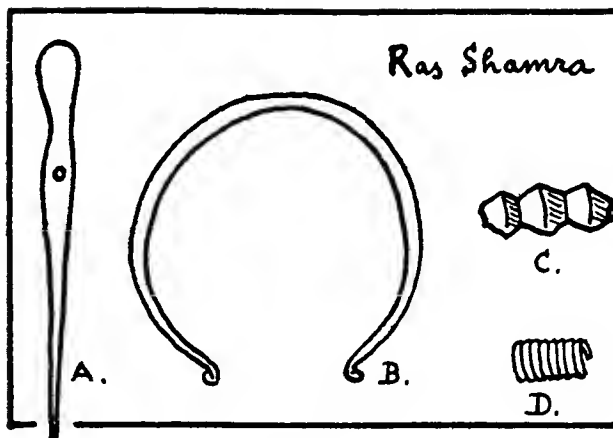


FIG. 2



FIG. 3

FIG. 1. Lances à soie de Ras Shamra (2300-2000 av. J. C.). Selon des dessins de G. Chenet.

FIG. 2. Croquis des types de bronze trouvés dans les sépultures de l'Ugarit Moyen I (2100-1900) de Ras Shamra.

FIG. 3. Épingles du dépôt du fondeur de Byblos. (a épingles inachevées présentant les bavures et le champignon de coulé; b et c épingles terminées.) Photographie du Musée National Libanais, Beyrouth.

OBJETS DE BRONZE

Moyen 1, en chiffres ronds entre 2200 et 2000. L'analyse chimique a révélé¹ que ces armes sont faites d'un bronze à teneur en étain élevé (jusqu'à 9,67%); ils constituent, en fait, l'un des plus anciens types de bronze jusqu'ici connus de Syrie. Il y fait son apparition précisément à l'époque à laquelle, selon les références citées ci-dessus, on relève dans l'épigraphie égyptienne l'expression 'cuivre d'Asie' et on observe l'utilisation des premiers objets de bronze dans la vallée du Nil.

Dans des couches légèrement plus récentes de Ras Shamra (niveau II, 1), nous avons mis au jour des sépultures contenant trois types de parures en bronze bien connus depuis leur première découverte en Syrie par M. Montet, dans un dépôt du temple de Byblos:² le torque ouvert à corps lisse et extrémités ourlées, l'épingle à habits à tête en forme de massue et col percé et un élément de collier en forme de perles biconiques et de fils de bronze ressemblant à des ressorts, voir croquis, Pl. XIV, fig. 2.

L'on sait que la date élevée initialement attribuée à la jarre de Byblos (l'Ancien Empire) a, depuis, été contestée. Se basant sur des considérations diverses, plusieurs auteurs ont fait des propositions dans ce sens.³ La découverte, à Ras Shamra, de tombes contenant *in situ* sur les squelettes, des torques, épingles et éléments de collier identiques aux bronzes correspondants de Byblos, me permet de confirmer et de préciser les estimations proposées par les auteurs mentionnés ci-dessus. Ayant, grâce à l'amabilité de l'Émir Maurice Chehab, pu étudier à loisir et faire analyser les bronzes de la trouvaille de Byblos, maintenant au Musée de Beyrouth, je suis en mesure de les attribuer, eux et l'ensemble du contenu de la fameuse jarre, à l'époque contemporaine de l'Ugarit Moyen 1, entre 2100 et 1900 en chiffres ronds.

Devant la nouveauté des types de bronze en question qui jusqu'à leur découverte par M. Montet n'avaient jamais été rencontrés dans aucune trouvaille syrienne, les auteurs précités ont admis qu'il s'agit d'objets anciennement importés à Byblos. Cette conclusion est battue en brèche par la trouvaille des mêmes bronzes à Ras Shamra signalée plus haut et aussi dans une tombe au Qalaat-er-Rouss à 25 km. au Sud de notre site⁴ et à Hama,⁵ où ils se révèlent être les offrandes funéraires d'une population installée sur la côte syrienne et dans la vallée de l'Oronte dès le temps de l'Ugarit Moyen 1 (2100-1900).

¹ Les analyses ont été exécutées dans les laboratoires des Forges et Acieries de la Marine, Homécourt (France) sous la direction de M. Leon Brun. Voici, à titre d'exemple, deux des résultats: lance Ras Shamra Nr. 6287, fig. 1 (analyse A), lance Ras Shamra Nr. 4436, fig. 1 (analyse B)

cuivre . . .	(A) 92,98 ⁰ / ₀	(B) 88,90 ⁰ / ₀
étain . . .	4,41 ⁰ / ₀	9,67 ⁰ / ₀
plomb . . .	1,50 ⁰ / ₀	0,61 ⁰ / ₀
zinc . . .	0,16 ⁰ / ₀	0,16 ⁰ / ₀
fer . . .	0,84 ⁰ / ₀	0,85 ⁰ / ₀
soufre . . .	0,02 ⁰ / ₀	0,09 ⁰ / ₀
nickel . . .	traces	0,15 ⁰ / ₀

² P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, Paris, 1928, p. 111 et suiv., pl. lxi-lxx.

³ H. Hubert: 2000-1700 (cf. *Syria*, 1925, p. 18); R. Dussaud: 2000 au plus tard (cf. *Syria*, 1930, p. 172); G. Contenau: 2300?-1800 (cf. *Manuel d'Arch. Orient.*, II, p. 870); W. F. Albright: pas antérieur à 1900-1850 (cf. *ASOR*, 1933, p. 74; 1938, p. 25); M. Dunand: 1900-1800 (cf. *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, Paris, 1939, p. 156).

⁴ E. Forrer, rapport sur ses sondages au Qalaat-er-Rouss. cf. A. M. H. Ehrich, *Early Pottery of the Jebel Region*, dans *Memoirs Amer. Philos. Soc.*, vol. XIII, Philadelphie, 1939, p. 119 et fig. 2.

⁵ H. Ingholt, *Rapport sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie*, Copenhague, 1940, p. 64.

Du même coup, une observation de M. Montet rapportée dans sa publication définitive, et qui semble avoir échappé aux auteurs s'étant occupés, depuis, de sa trouvaille, gagne toute sa signification. Le fouilleur de Byblos signale que l'une des épingles en bronze contenues dans la jarre constitue 'un raté avec des bavures latérales et terminé par une masse informe',¹ Pl. XIV, fig. 3. Comme j'ai pu m'en assurer par l'examen, il s'agit, en effet, d'une épingle encore pourvue du champignon de coulé, telle qu'elle était sortie de l'opération de coulage avant l'enlèvement des bavures.

La présence parmi les bronzes de la jarre de Byblos de pièces inachevées s'oppose à l'hypothèse de leur origine étrangère jusqu'ici admise. Il est, en effet, improbable qu'on aurait importé à Byblos, et importé de loin, du Caucase selon H. Hubert,² des bronzes dont l'état de fabrication n'était pas achevé.³ De toute évidence, il s'agit de bronzes coulés en Syrie, probablement dans les environs de Byblos sinon dans la ville même, et dont tout un lot à l'état neuf ou inachevé avait été déposé en offrande au temple.⁴

Cette conclusion en même temps qu'elle achève ma démonstration selon laquelle les parures du type de la jarre de Byblos étaient distinctives d'une population installée à demeure en Syrie centrale et septentrionale dès le Bronze Moyen (2100-1900), appuie l'hypothèse de l'utilisation dans la région de l'ancien Gebeil des minerais cupriques et d'étain provenant des montagnes voisines d'Esrouan, hypothèse avancée par MM. Lucas et Wainwright.

Par contre, je suis obligé d'exprimer des doutes quant à une opinion de l'un des auteurs précités. Selon Mr. Wainwright, le bronze technique, résultat de l'alliage intentionnel et non accidentel du cuivre et de l'étain n'avait été connu qu'à partir du temps de la XVIII^e dynastie égyptienne; selon cet auteur la date de l'invention tomberait entre 1580 et 1370 avant notre ère.⁵

Nous avons vu que la Syrie ancienne et en particulier, le site de Ras Shamra, a restitué des armes de bronze attribuables à la période entre 2200 et 2000 qui contiennent jusqu'à près de 10% d'étain. Selon l'avis des techniciens,⁶ pareille teneur est l'indice d'un alliage intentionnel et non accidentel des deux métaux. Les bronzes du dépôt contenu dans la jarre de Byblos, lequel l'on pourrait dorénavant appeler 'dépôt du fondeur de Byblos', ainsi que les bronzes analogues trouvés à Ras Shamra de la période

¹ P. Montet, op. cit., p. 123, pl. lxi, fig. 588, cinquième pièce d'en haut. — La photographie inédite publiée ici, fig. 3, a été mise à notre disposition par l'Émir Maurice Chehab, directeur du Musée de Beyrouth et du Service des Antiquités du Liban, ce dont nous le remercions ici.

² H. Hubert, op. cit., *Syria*, 1925, p. 26.

³ Nous reviendrons sur la question avec plus de détails dans notre volume en préparation: *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale*.

⁴ Notre hypothèse selon laquelle les bronzes de la jarre de Byblos constituent une offrande d'un fondeur est renforcée par d'autres trouvailles provenant du même site (cf. les nombreux dépôts de statuettes à l'état brut ou inachevé trouvés par M. Dunand, op. cit., p. 137 et suiv., pl. lvii-lxiii; lxviii-lxxii. D'autre part, les trouvailles de Byblos constituent un parallèle au dépôt des soixante-quatorze bronzes en partie inachevés et accompagnés de morceaux de métal brut découvert à Ras Shamra sous le dallage de la résidence du grand-prêtre d'Ugarit. Parmi ces bronzes, il y en a plusieurs qui sont gravés d'une dédicace au nom de ce dignitaire. Cf. nos *Ugaritica*, 1, Paris, 1939, pl. xxiv et *Syria*, 1929, p. 295, pl. lx.

⁵ G. A. Wainwright, dans *Antiquity*, 1943, p. 96 et 97.

⁶ Cf. par exemple A. Lucas, op. cit., p. 174 et suiv.

entre 2100 et 1900 contiennent, selon les analyses,¹ une teneur en étain atteignant même jusqu'à 18%.

De ce qui précède, il résulte, premièrement, que la fabrication du bronze au moyen d'un alliage délibéré de cuivre et d'étain a été connue des anciens bronziers au moins dès la fin du III^e millénaire et, deuxièmement, que les fondeurs de la région de Byblos et, d'une façon générale, ceux de la Syrie ancienne² ont, de toute évidence, apporté une contribution importante à cette découverte si riche de conséquence pour les anciennes civilisations.

¹ Les analyses ci-dessous ont aussi été exécutées dans les laboratoires des Forges d'Homécourt. La matière des bronzes de Byblos a été obligeamment mise à ma disposition par le conservateur du Musée de Beyrouth, l'Émir Maurice Chehab; la matière des bronzes de Ras Shamra a été cédée par la Mission de Ras Shamra.

Bronzes du dépôt de Byblos trouvé par M. Montet:

torque à extrémités ourlées:

cuivre	87,20%
étain	11,83%
plomb	0,52%
fer	0,52%
soufre	non dosé.

épingle à col percé:

cuivre	85,03%
étain	13,84%
plomb	0,90%
fer	0,30%
soufre	non dosé.

spiral en forme de ressort:

cuivre	83,80%
étain	15,00%
plomb	0,45%
soufre	0,145%

Bronzes de Ras Shamra de l'Ugarit Moyen 1 (2100-1900):

épingle à col percé:

cuivre	86,73%
étain	9,62%
plomb	1,52%
fer	1,44%
zinc	0,58%
antimoine	traces
arsenic	traces

autre épingle du même type:

cuivre	81,80%
étain	18,21%
plomb	0,54%
fer	0,27%
zinc	traces
argent	traces

² Divers autres gisements de cuivre et d'étain ont été signalés en Syrie, certains restent à confirmer, comme ceux de la région d'Alep.

THE ORIGIN OF EARLY COPPER

By A. LUCAS

As a result of experiments in simple methods of smelting copper ores to produce metallic copper, Mr. H. H. Coghlan suggests that copper was first produced accidentally, not in a camp fire, hole in the ground, or other open fire, as is often supposed, but in a pottery kiln, that is, in a closed chamber.¹ This, of course, presupposes that malachite (which was almost certainly the ore from which copper was first produced) was used, either accidentally or intentionally, as early as the Badarian period in connexion with the firing of pottery in a kiln, since metallic copper is known from the Badarian period. There is no evidence, however, that kilns were employed for burning pottery as early as the Badarian period, the first direct evidence of pottery kilns being from the Vth Dynasty, at which date they are depicted in the tomb of Ti at Şakḥārah, and, though evidently they must have been well established at that time, it is most improbable that they were in use some 2,000 years earlier.

Mr. Coghlan summarizes his suggestions in the form of two conclusions as follows:

1. 'The malachite may have been made up with a flux to resist the tendency to powder off. Applied to the pottery in this way as a slip, or even painted on, the result would be a smooth black decoration.'
2. 'The malachite may have been made up with a glaze. Analyses of Egyptian blue frit show that it is coloured by a copper compound. Hence it would seem possible to associate copper, and most likely malachite, with glazes as early as the 1st Dynasty in Egypt, and, if the art was intrusive into Egypt, the origin of the practice would have been still earlier.'

These conclusions may now be considered:

1. The black colour of early pottery has been analysed by me and by others probably hundreds of times, and no evidence or suspicion of a copper compound has ever been found.

2. This paragraph consists of three sentences, which will be considered separately.

(a) 'The malachite may have been made up with a glaze.' This can only mean that malachite may have been the colouring material in a glazing composition on pottery which was being fired in a kiln. But, as already shown, pottery kilns almost certainly were not in use until long after the discovery of copper. Also, pottery was not glazed in Egypt until a very late date, and even then the glaze was at first not a copper glaze but a lead glaze.² Is Mr. Coghlan making the very common mistake of thinking that Egyptian faience is glazed pottery? Faience is not glazed pottery but glazed quartz frit (powdered quartz).²

¹ H. H. Coghlan, *Some Experiments on the Origin of Early Copper*, in *Man*, July 1939, No. 92.

² A. Lucas, *Glazed Ware in Egypt, India and Mesopotamia*, in *JEA*, xxii, 141 ff.

(b) 'Analyses of Egyptian blue frit show that it is coloured by a copper compound.' Here manifestly there is a tacit suggestion that blue frit, during either making or using, may have given rise accidentally to metallic copper. This, however, is excluded by the comparatively late date at which this frit was first used, the earliest example known to me (and I have searched for earlier ones) being from the IVth Dynasty.¹

(c) 'Hence it would seem possible to associate copper, and most likely malachite, with glazes as early as the Ist Dynasty in Egypt, and, if the art was intrusive into Egypt, the origin of the practice would have been still earlier.' But, if the firing of a glaze gave rise to copper, then glazing must have been known as early as the Badarian period, which was the case, though not glazing on pottery, but glazing on steatite certainly,² and possibly also glazing on solid quartz and glazing on quartz frit, since glazed solid quartz and glazed quartz frit (faience) are both known from the Pre-dynastic period.³

However, as Mr. Coghlan has proved by his experiments, metallic copper cannot be produced in an open fire, but only in a closed chamber, and with reference to faience I wrote some years ago⁴ that 'whatever the precise details of the ancient method of glazing were, there can be little doubt that the firing was carried out in a closed chamber of some sort, though probably only a small one, since it seems impossible that this should have been done in an open fire with the objects to be glazed in contact with the fuel. The modern forgers of faience at Kurnah have evolved various ways of solving the difficulty: sometimes an earthenware pot is employed,⁵ sometimes a copper box, and sometimes a box of steatite, the objects in the latter case being stood on cubes of steatite.'

Although the evidence is, and can only be, circumstantial, it seems to me to be proved that, as suggested by Mr. Coghlan, metallic copper was first discovered in connexion with glazing in a closed chamber, the glazing being that of steatite or quartz, the latter either solid or powdered. If this is accepted, then it follows that metallic copper was an Egyptian discovery,⁶ since, on present evidence, both glazed steatite and glazed quartz were Egyptian inventions.⁷

¹ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 1934, p. 285.

² G. Brunton & G. Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation*, 27, 28, 41.

³ W. M. F. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 42.

⁴ A. Lucas, *JEA*, xxii, 156.

⁵ This was the method used by Mr. Coghlan in his experiments.

⁶ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 403.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 407.

COLONEL SIR HENRY LYONS, F.R.S.

By SIR ERNEST M. DOWSON

THE death of Sir Henry Lyons at Great Missenden on August 10, 1944, is recorded here in affectionate memory of a great personality and of solid work quietly done for Egyptology. Few men have given longer or more single-minded devotion to the furtherance of science, its spirit and its service to man. At eighteen he had collected a series of fossils for the Natural History Museum and been elected a Fellow of the Geological Society. In his eightieth year his last illness found him correcting the proofs of the *Administrative History of the Royal Society* to which he dedicated his closing years. Appreciations of his many activities have been expressed elsewhere by better informed pens; and the recognition accorded to his service to science, to Egypt, and to our own country needs no repetition here. This brief memoir seeks only to trace against that wider background the thread of his uninterrupted interest in this Society's special scientific field, and the contributions he was able to make to it. This has only been made possible by the generous assistance of many friends.

Henry George Lyons, the son of General T. C. Lyons, C.B., was born in London on October 11, 1864. He was educated at Wellington and Woolwich, gazetted to the Royal Engineers in 1884, and posted to Cairo in 1890, where he was allotted quarters in the Kaşr en-Nil Barracks. There his curiosity was aroused by a black stone inscribed with hieroglyphs which he passed daily on his way to mess. Fired with a desire to learn something of the language and people of ancient Egypt, he wrote to England and Germany for books and guidance, and devoted his spare time during the hot weather to studying these things. It was necessary to look abroad for help, as in Egypt, true to her character as the land of paradox, Egyptology was still an exotic. Even the rich nucleus of the present museum, collected by Mariette, lay ill housed, confused, and uncared for, a thicket without pathways for the student. It is not, indeed, fanciful to see in this early experience the seeds of the attraction and clarity which characterized the British Science Museum later.

In 1891 Lyons was attached to the Egyptian Army for engineer duties in Nubia and then for a number of years to Lord Kitchener's Staff for frontier service from Halfa against the Dervishes, at that time lying near Sarras, thirty miles southward. This brought him knowledge of the desert and its ways, and opportunities of exploring desert sites. In 1892 he cleared and surveyed several temples of the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties at Buhen on the west bank and recovered a number of important inscriptions, one being the lower half of a stela of Sesostris I celebrating his Nubian campaigns, which completed the upper half lodged by Champollion and Rosellini in the Florence Museum over sixty years earlier. From the Dakhla oasis, too, Lyons re-



COLONEL SIR HENRY LYONS, F.R.S.
1864-1944

covered several important stelae of the Twenty-first Dynasty, now in the Ashmolean. While at Halfa he also rebuilt the Nile gauge which he had found in pieces.

A permanent addition to the Nile's summer supplies had in the meantime become necessary, if Lord Cromer's long struggle for the development of Egypt's natural economy was not to be strangled. This could only be provided by a great reservoir dam on the granite barrier forming the first cataract; but the archaeological world arose in arms, for, just within the basin, threatened with destruction, stood the Temples of Philae. A large reduction in the capacity of the reservoir was suggested, coupled with constructional protection against seasonal immersion of the lower portions of the temples. But a thorough examination of the buildings was called for, as they had long lain choked with rubbish and neglected. The work was entrusted to Lyons, whose interest in archaeology had been observed. During the winter of 1895-6 he cleared, surveyed, and recorded the buildings, investigating and when necessary giving first aid to the already doubtful foundations, and outlining the more permanent protective measures subsequently adopted. While doing so he discovered a trilingual stela recording local Roman victories, which aroused great interest when published by him and Borchardt.

During the following summer Lyons was married, which necessitated his return to normal duties with his own Corps, as only unmarried British officers were at that time allowed to serve in the Egyptian Army. But the effective discharge of his delicate task at Philae, followed by personal contact, led Lord Cromer to advise the Egyptian Government to ask him to undertake first the geological and then the cadastral survey of the country. The successful conduct of these two formidable enterprises and the establishment of the national Survey of Egypt and its associated scientific organizations during the forthcoming years (1897-1909) constitute his outstanding achievement and service to Egypt. They left little time and energy for other activities, but his interest in Egyptology remained keen and he became a member of the *Comité consultatif d'archéologie* on its formation. Unfortunately the friction then existing between Britain and France over Egypt vitiated the usefulness of this body and set a barrier against much valuable collaboration which Lyons and other like-minded British officers could have given to Egyptology.

By 1905 the agricultural development of Egypt was again outrunning the low-stage river supplies; so the reach between Halfa and Khartoum, which had been in Dervish hands previously, was carefully surveyed to locate and explore any further possible reservoir sites. This showed that there was no reasonable alternative to increasing the capacity of the Aswan Reservoir, thus threatening a revival of the earlier controversy. But the problem was no longer a new one to Lyons. Traces of ancient burials which he had found on the east bank ten years earlier, while working at Philae and pondering no doubt on that unsatisfactory compromise, had implanted in his mind a worthier and a more effective reconciliation of Egypt's archaeological responsibilities with her well-being. The plain economic need to provide additional water-storage could not be denied; but this should, he suggested, be preceded by a concentration of the resources of science, learning, and experience not only (i) on the preservation of known ancient

structures within the reservoir basin, but also (ii) on the discovery, record, and study of every evidential fragment of its buried history. This policy was adopted by the Egyptian Government, the execution of (i) being allotted to Sir Gaston Maspero and of (ii) to Lyons, who, in pursuance of his basic idea, organized this work in three complementary sections each under specialized direction, charged respectively with archaeology in its more restricted sense, study of the anthropological material, and the mapping of ancient sites in detail and their setting in the general topography of the basin. This was the genesis of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia, judged, in the objective pages of the Society's 1907-8 Report covering the first season's progress, as the finest piece of scientific work done in archaeology in its widest sense in so short a time and with such remarkable results.

Lyons retired from Egypt in 1909 to take up his further period of distinguished public service in England. He continued to serve the Society, joining its Committee in 1912 and being Treasurer for 1925-30 and a Vice-President for 1931-40. Of his qualities as a man it is impossible for the writer to speak dispassionately. His insight, administrative capacity, energy, and drive are known. His complete sinking of himself in any task he undertook can be seen in his *Cadastral Survey of Egypt*, his *Physiography of the Nile*, and his introduction to the first *Bulletin* of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia. He expected from everyone the same unqualified and unself-regarding service that he himself gave to any sincere work, whether his own or another's. His authority was sure but human, and incalculably aided by his unfailing cheerfulness and humour. He dealt inflexibly with inefficiency and could be gruff from disapproval or the shyness which so often accompanies self-confidence in generous natures; but underlying all was a deep kindness which salted all his dealings with his fellow men.

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GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1941-1945)

By MARCUS N. TOD

THE following Bibliography, which continues that for 1939-40 published in this *Journal*, xxvii, 153-6, registers the relevant books and articles which came to my knowledge between the beginning of 1941 and the close of July, 1945. That it can lay no claim to completeness I am well aware, for, though the European War ended in May, 1945, communications with the Continent are not yet unrestricted, and the German and Austrian books and periodicals of the war-years, as well as many of those published elsewhere, are still, with but few exceptions, inaccessible in British libraries. The number and the importance, however, of the items here noticed may be held to justify the issue of this brief review, provisional as it must needs be, in which I indicate by an asterisk those works which I have been unable to consult directly and of which my knowledge depends in most cases upon the summaries of recent work on the Greek inscriptions of Egypt and Nubia contained in J. and L. ROBERT's indispensable 'Bulletin Épigraphique', of which three instalments have appeared during the period under review (*Rev. ét. gr.* LIII, 233-5, LIV, 266-7, LV, 363).

Of F. BILABEL's continuation of PREISIGKE's *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* no fresh fascicule has been issued since 1938, but attention may be called to reviews of the Egyptian section of HONDIUS's *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, VIII, by F. HALKIN in **Analecta Bollandiana*, LIX, 306-7, and by A. PUECH in *Journ. Sav.* 1940, 184.

A number of valuable discussions of Graeco-Egyptian history and institutions have appeared in which the epigraphical evidence plays an important part. Among these I may note R. TAUBENSCHLAG's *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri 332 B.C.-640 A.D.* (New York, 1944), in which the Greek and Latin inscriptions utilized, notably OGIS 669, are indexed on p. 465; R. S. ROGERS's revised list of the prefects of Egypt in the reign of Tiberius (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* LXXII, 365-71); H. HENNE's article 'Sur la titulature aulique des stratèges de nomes à l'époque ptolémaïque' (*Rev. ét. anc.* XLII, 172-6; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIV, 238); reviews by W. W. TARN (*JHS* LIX, 323-4) and H. VOLKMANN (*Phil. Woch.* LIX, 1007-16) of the work of W. OTTO and H. BENGTSON on the decline of the Ptolemaic Empire (cf. *JEA* XXVII, 153); a republication among the collected articles of M. HOLLEAUX, **Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, III (Paris, 1942), ch. I, of that scholar's interpretation of the title ἡγεμὼν τῶν ἑξω τάξεων as 'commandant "à la disposition", n'ayant pas de service actif' (*Rev. ét. gr.* XXXV, 198-210), and H. KORTENBEUTEL's articles on φίλος and προύραρχος in PAULY-WISSOWA-KROLL, *Real-encyclopädie*, XX, 1 (Stuttgart, 1941).

In the sphere of religion I mention A. ROWE's investigation of certain 'Newly-identified Monuments in the Egyptian Museum showing the Deification of the Dead, together with brief Details of similar Objects elsewhere' (*Ann. Serv.* XL, 1-50, 291-6), in which the Greek evidence examined (pp. 26-7, 34) comprises the epigrams on the tomb of Isidora at Hermopolis Magna (*SEG* VIII, 473-4), the epitaph of Asclepias from Memphis, now in the Louvre (*SB* 1935), and the inscription on the tomb of Petosiris (*SEG* VIII, 624); W. G. WADDELL's note (*Ann. Serv.* XL, 297) claiming that 'in the light of all the evidence of Mr. Rowe's article, the definition of *hesiês* in the 9th edition of Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, should be emended to read: "used of the drowned dead from the XXXth Dynasty onwards" '; A. REHM's discussion of the widespread use of the term ΜΝΗΣΘΗ, especially common in Greek graffiti from Egypt (**Philol.* xciv, 1-30); G. W. ELDERKIN's article on 'The Hero on a Sandal' (*Hesperia*, x, 381-7), which includes a discussion and illustration of a sandal-shaped vase of the second century A.D. from Lower Egypt bearing the inscription ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΙ (cf. DAREMBERG-SAGLIO-POTTIER, *Dict. Ant.* III, 1828, IV, 1389), and a reconsideration by F. CHAPOUTHIER (*Rev. Ét. Anc.* XLII, 58-63) and by R. GOOSSENS (*Chron. d'Ég.* xvi, 279) of the inscription on a gold cup, now in the Cairo Museum, dedicated in A.D. 58 by Plutas 'to Helen, sister of Aphrodite' (*SEG* VIII, 500). The former interprets this unexampled reference to Helen as Aphrodite's 'sister' as due to the frequency

with which these two were associated on account of their beauty, while the latter thinks that the surpassing loveliness of Helen led to her being considered as a daughter of Zeus and thus a sister of Aphrodite (cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIV, 266).

New light has also been thrown by inscriptions on the economic and social life of Egypt. M. ROSTOV-TZEFF's masterpiece, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941), pays careful attention to these aspects of Egyptian life in the Ptolemaic period (see especially pp. 255-422, 705-36, 870-929, and the notes on these passages) and supplies an index (pp. 1761-72) of the epigraphical evidence cited or discussed. W. F. SNYDER's inquiry into the inscriptions, both Greek and Latin, relative to the observance of public anniversaries in the Roman Empire during the first three centuries (*Yale Classical Studies*, VII, 223-317) includes the collection and analysis of a large amount of evidence from Egypt and the republication of six inscriptions (pp. 234 ff., Nos. 5, 18, 22, 25, 35, 52) from Abydos (*IGRom* I, 1161), Mons Porphyrites (*SB* 4383), the Theban Oasis (*OGIS* 702 = *IGRom* I, 1264), Ptolemais (*OGIS* 703 = *IGRom* I, 1156), Caranis (*SEG* II, 872), and Ombos (*IGRom* I, 1288), ranging from A.D. 49 to 214. Among the materials used by N. HOHLWEIN for his long and interesting essay on 'Déplacements et Tourisme dans l'Égypte Romaine' (*Chron. d'Ég.* xv, 253-78) are the graffiti, of which immense numbers have survived, painted or scratched on Egyptian temples and tombs. M. N. TOD's note on 'Big Game Hunters in Ptolemaic and Roman Libya' (*JEA* xxvii, 159-60) cites the evidence of *OGIS* 82 and 86 and of *SB* 7306.

I now turn to inscriptions, other than those already mentioned, which have been edited, republished, or discussed during the period covered by the present survey, following a geographical order.

The *Times* of January 6, 1945, reports from Alexandria the discovery, at the S.W. corner of the Serapeum, of ten plaques, one of gold and the rest of silver, bronze, mud, and glass, inscribed with bilingual texts in hieroglyphs and Greek, establishing beyond doubt that the temple was founded by Ptolemy III; these plaques were in better condition than those discovered at the S.E. corner in August, 1944 (cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* XLVIII, 86). M. N. TOD re-edits (*JEA* xxviii, 53-6) a similar bilingual inscription on a gold plaque unearthed by G. LUMBROSO in 1885 (*SB* 2136). R. S. ROGERS refers the Alexandrian inscription *SEG* VIII, 457, not to Marcus Magius Maximus but to Gaius Vibius Maximus, prefect of Egypt in A.D. 103-7 (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* LXXII, 370-1); S. DOW and F. S. UPSON's article on 'The Foot of Sarapis' describes (*Hesperia*, XIII, 60-4) a sculptured example from Alexandria, dating from the Antonine age and bearing an inscription (*SB* 1326, E. BRECCIA, *Iscr. greche e latine*, No. 128, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (1914), 224, No. 33); A. MOMIGLIANO's review of *CAH* x (*JRS* xxxiv, 115) discusses an Egyptian text from Hawara (*JHS* LXII, 17) showing that the Alexandrians, as well as the Jews, had a *γερονσία*; and G. LOPUSZAŃSKI in his detailed examination of 'La transformation du corps des officiers supérieurs dans l'armée romaine du I^{er} au III^e s. ap. J.-C.' (*Mél. Rome*, LV, 131-83) seeks to solve (pp. 151-5) the chronological difficulty raised by an Alexandrian inscription in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, recently published by L. ROBERT (*Collection Froehner*, I, 119-20, No. 75) by emending *ἐτους α'* to *ἐτους δ'*. To the reviews of C. E. VISSER's *Götter und Kulte im ptolemäischen Alexandrien* mentioned in my previous Bibliographies (*JEA* xxv, 90, xxvii, 154) must now be added that by F. PFISTER in **Phil. Woch.* LX, 383-7.

L. HABACHI's account of 'Sais and its Monuments' (*Ann. Serv.* XLII, 369-407) maintains that the Rosetta Stone came from Sais (pp. 376, 390-2), and discusses two inscriptions found in the ruins of Abu Mandūr, now preserved in the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria; of these one (*SB* 1526) is, to judge by the dialect and the content, probably of Rhodian origin,¹ while the other (*SB* 647), in which *τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου [Κλ]εοπατρ(είου)* honours its high priest in A.D. 4-5, is of uncertain provenance.

J. LEIBOVITCH publishes (*Ann. Serv.* XLI, 41-51) three inscribed stelae, now in the Cairo Museum, from the cemetery, already so prolific, of the Jewish community settled at Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehūdiyah), together with a useful bibliography (pp. 46-7) of previous discoveries on that site; one of them is the metrical epitaph of a woman, *Κλεῦπας*, who died in childbirth (*λεχοῦσα*), while a second commemorates *Μαρεῖν χρηστὴ μικρὰ πασιφίλα ὡς ἐτῶν λε'*. Another epigram, now in Göttingen (*SB* 5765), is discussed by L. ROBERT (*Hellenica*, I, 18-24), who explains the term *πολιταρχῶν* as indicating headship of a Jewish *πολίτευμα* and assigns the inscription with practical certainty to the same cemetery. An epitaph from

¹ HABACHI does not refer to M. SEGRÉ's article in *Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* x, 131-5 (cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LII, 485, No. 249, *JEA* xxv, 90), in which the Rhodian origin of this dedication, previously suggested, is finally demonstrated.

Terenuthis (still unpublished) is discussed by A. D. Nock in his examination of the Christian idea of the welcome of the soul by angels, martyrs and confessors (*Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxxiv, 104).

L. ROBERT argues (*Hellenica*, I, 23, note 8) for the retention of the form λοχώ in an epitaph (*SB* 6227) found at Demirdash, near Cairo, and C. PICARD gives a brief account (*Rev. arch.* xvii, 269–70) of the 'Monument of Agrios', fully discussed and restored in a recent article by O. GUÉRAUD (cf. *JEA* xxvii, 154).

M. ROSTOVITZ deals (*Rev. ét. anc.* XLII, 512–14; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIV, 267, No. 173) with the hymns from Medinet-Mādī in the Fayyūm addressed to Isis-Hermuthis (*SEG* VIII, 548–51, especially 550, l. 15), and A. FAKHRY reports the discovery of four sherds bearing Greek letters, three written in ink, and one incised, at Medinet-Qūta (*Ann. Serv.* XL, 908, **Recent Explorations in the Oases of the Western Desert*, 236).

One of the two inscriptions which form the starting point of M. HOLLEAUX's above-mentioned article on the title ἡγεμῶν τῶν ἑξω τάξεων is *SB* 599, a long list of names from Hermopolis Magna, and T. C. SKEAT re-edits in *JEA* xxviii, 68–9, an epigram of fourteen lines from the same city commemorating Harpalus, an architect and builder, and his son Achilles, first published by W. G. WADDELL in **Fouilles de l'Université Fouad el Awal à Hermoupolis Ouest 'Touna el Gebel'* (Cairo, 1941), 107–9. An inscription of Antinoopolis (*OGIS* 701 = *IGRom* I, 1142), in which Hadrian records how he constructed ὁδὸν καὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ὑδρεύμασιν ἀφθόνοις καὶ σταθμοῖς καὶ φρουρίοις διεκλιμμένην, is discussed by *H. G. PFLAUM, 'Essai sur le cursus publicus sous le Haut-empire romain' (*Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xiv), 32–3, 161–2.

A votive inscription of Coptos (*OGIS* 69), which a Theraean ἡγεμῶν τῶν ἑξω τάξεων set up as a thank-offering to the great Samothracian gods for his safety after an adventurous voyage, is discussed by HOLLEAUX in his article already cited, and another dedication (*SB* 8036) from the same site, now in Lyons, which played an important role in OTTO and BENGTON's recent work on the decline of the Ptolemaic Empire (cf. *JEA* xxvii, 153, 155), is re-examined by H. VOLKMAN (*Phil. Woch.* LIX, 1007–10) and W. W. TARN (*JHS* LIX, 323–4).

P. JOUGUET adds a supplementary note, accompanied by photographs (*Ann. Serv.* XL, 635–7), on the dedications to Augustus and Titus from Karnak provisionally published by him in *Ann. Serv.* xxxix, 603–5 (cf. *JEA* xxvii, 155), and M. N. TOD supplies (*ibid.* 99–105) a fuller version of a long sepulchral epigram, probably from Thebes, already partially edited by T. REINACH (*Rev. ét. gr.* xxviii, 55–7). *Volume II of U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF's *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin, 1941), devoted to Hellenistic, late-Greek and Latin poetry, contains (ch. ix) a republication of that scholar's article (*Archiv*, I, 219–26) on two epigrams of the reign of Euergetes II from Hassaia, south of Edfu (Apollinopolis Magna). Various inscriptions of Philae are referred to in the articles s.v. by H. KEES in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-encyclopädie*, xix, 2109–13, and by H. LECLERCQ in the **Dict. d'arch. chrét.*

W. SCHUBART's treatment (**Archiv*, xiv, 36–43) of the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander (*OGIS* 669), inscribed in the temple of Hibis in the El-Khargah Oasis (cf. *JEA* xxiii, 108, xxvii, 155, *Rev. ét. gr.* LV, 363, No. 184) is still inaccessible to me, as is also W. D. VAN WIJNGAARDEN's paper on that temple in the **Bericht über den VI. internationalen Kongress für Archäologie, Berlin*, 280–1.

From an unknown site in Egypt comes an inscription now in the Campion Collection in Nottingham, edited by F. M. HEICHELHEIM in *JEA* xxx, 76–7; it dates probably from A. D. 621 and invokes blessing on one who built τοῦτον τὸν χαλκευτικὸν ἐργαστήριον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν.

TOGO MINA's **Inscriptions coptes et grecques de Nubie* (Cairo, 1942), known to me only through E. DRIOTON's review (*Bull. Soc. Arch. Copte*, viii, 227–9), contains a number of inscriptions of the eighth to the tenth century A.D., while Nubian inscriptions figure among the sources of E. STEIN's survey of Christian Nubia (*Rev. hist. ecclés.* xxxvi, 131–42; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* LIV, 267, No. 176), a review of U. MONNERET DE VILLARD's **Storia della Nubia cristiana* (Rome, 1938).

In the foregoing paragraphs I have had occasion to mention Greek inscriptions now preserved at Göttingen, Lyons and Nottingham and in the Louvre. Of the sixty-four Greek inscriptions housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, a useful account has been published by F. M. HEICHELHEIM (*JHS* LXII, 14–20; cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* XLVIII, 191); among them are (pp. 16–20) already known texts from Coptos (*OGIS* 53), Dongola (G. Lefebvre, *Recueil*, 641–3), Hawara (*SB* 5755–6, *Brit. Sch. Arch. Egypt*, xxiv, 19, Pl. 52), and Ptolemais (*OGIS* 668), as well as a number of texts here first published—a dedication to the Τύχη of Nero from Lycopolis, two inscriptions probably from Alexandria, a dedication to Sarapis dating

from the late Ptolemaic period, and sixteen wooden mummy-labels of the second or third century of our era.¹

I end by calling attention to some references in inscriptions found elsewhere indicating the spread of Egyptian cults in other parts of the Hellenic world. Among a batch of Sicyonian inscriptions published by A. ORLANDOS (*Ἑλληνικά*, x, 5-18) is a dedication to Sarapis and Isis (No. 9). The recent discoveries in Asia Minor signalized by G. ROHDE include a votive stele from Orta Gürney in the vilayet of Kastamonu inscribed *Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Σαράπιδι καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ Εἰσιδι καὶ τοῖς συννόοις θεοῖς Κατώνιος Μάκερ ἐπαρχος σπείρης πρώτης Θρακῶν* (*Türk Tarih*, iv, 58, 66-7, No. 2). A marble stele found S. of Latakia (Laodicea ad mare) on the Syrian coast by H. SEYRIG and published by P. ROUSSEL (*Syria*, xxiii, 21-32) bears an interesting decree of 175 B.C., honouring three priests of Sarapis and Isis and giving valuable information about the Egyptian cult in that seaport and about the constitution of the city. The Swedish excavations at Mersinaki and Soli in Cyprus have brought to light epigraphical evidences of the worship of Sarapis and of Egyptian political influence; these have been edited by E. EKMAN (E. GJERSTAD and others, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus, 1927-1931*, III, 621-32, Nos. 2, 6, 10, 11; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Rev. ét. gr.* LV, 362-3). At Chersonesus in Crete S. MARINATOS has found a dedication to Sarapis dating from the second or first century B.C. (*Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, xv, App. 73 = *Inscr. Cret.* I, vii, 3), and the inscriptions of western and eastern Crete collected in *Inscriptiones Creticae*, II, III (Rome, 1939, 1942) attest the cult of Sarapis at Poecilasium (II, xxi, 1, 7 τοῦ κύριου Σαράπιδος) and at Phoenix (II, xx, 7, 1 *Ιοῖι Soli Optimo Maximo Sarapidi*), and indicate the close relations of Crete with Ptolemaic Egypt in references, mainly from Itanus (for which see III, p. 77), to Ptolemy II Philadelphus (III, iv, 2, 6; 3, 6; 4, 3), III Euergetes (II, xii, 25, xix, 2, 2, III, iv, 4), IV Philopator (III, iv, 18) and VI Philometor (III, iv, 9, 41, 43, 107), as well as to the *Πτολεμαϊκὴ οἰκία* (*ibid.* 97; cf. II, xvi, 11, III, iv, 5, 7).

¹ Another hitherto unpublished inscription (p. 20, XIII, 3), containing four groups of 'acrophonic' numerals, but assigned by HEICHELHEIM to the second or third century A.D., 'is preserved in the Egyptian Department of the Fitzwilliam Museum, but seems to be non-Egyptian'; this enigmatic fragment calls for further study. On p. 16 (x, b) 'Lefebre' is thrice written instead of 'Lefebvre'. To MOMIGLIANO's treatment of the third Hawara inscription (p. 17, c, 3) I have referred above; for the phrase ἀκαταχρημάτιστα καὶ ἀνεξαλλοτρίωτα (so the words are usually accented), which occurs in l. 7, cf. M. N. TOD, *Am. Journ. Phil.* LXII, 197-8. In the inscription from Lycopolis (p. 17, d) ἐφ[ηβεικότες is a misprint for ἐφ[ηβευκότες, nor can I accept HEICHELHEIM's *Καί(σαρι) σύ(νοδος)* in l. 1, which I regard as affording a further example of the familiar formula καὶ σύ, found most recently on two mosaics unearthed at Jekmeieh and discussed in detail by D. LEVI (R. STILLWELL, *Antioch on-the-Orontes*, III, *The Excavations, 1937-1939* (Princeton, 1941), 24-5, Nos. 120-1, 220-32).



BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The Writing of the Name *Hīke'*. Second Note

IN *JEA* XXIV, 128, I published a note on the above-mentioned subject, calling attention to the fact that the god's name, from the Twenty-first Dynasty onwards, was usually written with the sign Δ , which presumably thereby acquired a new phonetic value in addition to its customary value of *ph*. So far as I am aware, no explanation has been offered as to how the sign Δ came to play this new role, and the object of this further note is to suggest one. Many years ago Francesco Rossi¹ published a description, with a lithographic plate, of an interesting funerary papyrus in the Turin Museum, which belongs to the large class of pictorial papyri that came into vogue in the Twenty-first Dynasty, consisting of pictures (with or without short texts) borrowed from the Book of the Dead, the Books of the Underworld, and other compositions, and of which papyri many different types are known. In this particular papyrus the principal picture represents the boat of the nocturnal sun-god towed along a river by four jackals.² The god is within the usual naos in the centre of the boat, and three divinities stand before the naos and two behind it. The names of the three gods in front are written above their heads, (1) Thoth, (2) Khopri, and (3) name damaged, but apparently containing the sign Δ (not Osiris, however). The two gods at the back of the boat are labelled respectively Δ and Δ — 'front' and 'rear'. The opposition of these two signs appears to me significant, and my suggestion is that the artist who executed this papyrus had before him a draft with directions and annotations to serve as a model for drawing this and similar scenes upon coffins, papyri, or the walls of tombs. We may therefore suppose that such a draft directed that the three named gods should be inserted in front of the naos, and that two others should be placed behind it. As the two gods usually associated in such scenes are Sia' and Hike',³ it is further presumed that directions were given in the draft to place the former before the latter and that their names or pictures in the model were accompanied by the directions Δ and Δ to indicate their relative positions. I suggest, therefore, that the mark, which was originally no more than a draughtsman's indicator of position, was mistaken for and thus became equivalent to the actual name or emblem of Hike'. I am aware, in making this suggestion, that the logic of the situation would also postulate the writing Δ for the name of Sia', but I have never met with such a form. In P. Ch.-B. ix, 6. 9, Sia' is said to be 'in front of (Δ Δ) the bark of Rē', but no significance can be attached to this, as the name of Sia' comes in the middle of a long list of other gods similarly described.


W. R. DAWSON












¹ *Atti della Reale Acad. delle Scienze di Torino*, xiv, 1203-24 (1879). A poorly drawn copy is also in Lanzone, *Diz. Mitologia*, pls. 255-6.








² Before Dyn. XXI the boat is towed by men or by anthropomorphic gods (e.g. Sarcophagus of Sethos I, and the many pictures in the Tombs of the Kings), but thereafter these human figures are sometimes replaced by jackals (e.g. B.M. Coffin 22900 and others of Dyn. XXI). Cf. also the mention in the Chess-game text (P. Cairo 58037, 3, 3) of . The Turin duplicate of this text is damaged, but had a similar reading,  (3, 4—4, 1). The third copy of this text, that in Theban Tomb No. 350, ends before this point is reached.

³ In the Book of Gates, Sia' and Hike' are usually the only attendant gods in the boat, S. invariably before and H. invariably behind the naos (e.g. Bonomi-Sharpe, *Alabaster Sarcophagus*, pls. 3, 4, 5, 7, and often; Davis, *Tomb of Harmhabi*, pls. 49, 58, 59, etc.).


The Name of the Pyramid-Town of Sesostris II


IN n. 7 on p. 6 above, the town given in an Abydos stela as  (Δ) is mentioned as occurring in papyri from El-Lāhūn. Its presence in these has, however, been much obscured by

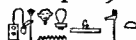

wrong transcription. Griffith, in his *Kahun Papyri* (1898), transcribed the first sign in the name once, in 10, 2, with , but everywhere else (14, 23. 26. 27. 29. 30; 26a, 26; 32, 11; 33, 34) with , and on p. 107 he corrects his  of 10, 2 to . Borchardt, in an article on the El-Lāhūn papyri in the Berlin Museum, *ZÄS* xxxviii (1899), 91 ff., transcribed the first sign as  without comment, and translated the name (p. 91): 'der Stadt "Mächtig ist der selige Usertes"''. Scharff, in 'Briefe aus Illahun', *ZÄS* LIX (1924), 20 ff., transcribes the sign throughout as , like Griffith, and notes in an article on the place-names of these papyri, op. cit. 54, that in 'nh-Sesostris' sometimes , sometimes  is written, the difference being without significance 'falls man nicht einen weiteren Ortsnamen  (S.) hrp-Sesostris annehmen will, wogegen vom Hieratischen aus bei der grossen Ähnlichkeit von  mit den drei Szepterzeichen in der Aktenschrift des MR nichts einzuwenden wäre'. Sethe, in his *Lesestücke* (1924), 97, 2 (from P. Berlin 10012), transcribes , and in his *Erläuterungen* to the passage gives 'Šhm-Snwsrt, Name der Pyramidenstadt Sesostris' II'.²

Borchardt and Sethe are certainly right in their reading, against Griffith and Scharff. In the 'Kahun Papyri' the sign read by Griffith as  in this supposed town-name is, where it is distinct enough to be identified, everywhere clearly ; so also in the Berlin papyri P. 10012 and P. 10017, reproduced in Möller, *Hierat. Lesest.* I, pp. 19, top, 3; 20, top, 2. These are the only examples of the town-name in hieratic accessible to me. The accompanying figure, showing the examples of this sign in the town-name together with some indubitable examples of  from the same documents, will show how erroneous is Scharff's statement as to the similarity of the two hieratic signs; and the indubitable examples of  given there from *Kah. Pap.* will show that the sign not only is not  but is . It can hardly be doubted that the two examples of 'nh-Snwsrt' in pls. 6 (P. 10037) and 10 (P. 10096) of Scharff's transcriptions, as well as the examples mentioned by him op. cit. 53, are also to be read with .

A. The first sign of the name of the pyramid-town of Sesostris II, in M.K. hieratic documents.



B. Indubitable examples of  in the same documents.

C. Indubitable examples of  in *Kah. Pap.*

The only other evidence that has, to my knowledge, been adduced in favour of the existence of a place 'nh-Snwsrt (*mxc-hrw*) is three seal-impressions Nos. 20-2 on pl. 9 of Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, which are all damaged but when combined give . Griffith, op. cit. 88, takes  here to be an abbreviation of the supposed 'nh-Snwsrt; but if that were so one would

¹ This stroke does not occur in the town-name in *Kah. Pap.*

² See for this attribution Scharff, *ZÄS* LIX, 53.

³ Possibly 'nh-Snwsrt, op. cit. 55, and pl. 8 of the transcriptions, is to be read  etc., for which name cf. *Kah. Pap.*, p. 88. The only clear examples of the name 'nh-Snwsrt in *Kah. Pap.* are the two abbreviated writings  (*sic*) in 14, 33. 37.

expect $\overline{\text{f}}$ to come first, as with $\overline{\text{a}}$ before $\overline{\text{f}}$ (clearly for *Htp-Snwsrt*) in the same impression, and $\overline{\text{f}}$, $\overline{\text{f}}$ in the abbreviations $\overline{\text{f}}\overline{\text{f}}$, $\overline{\text{f}}\overline{\text{f}}$ in *Kah. Pap.*, pl. 14, 26–37, as also in the full writings of these names. Further, the abbreviation of *Snwsrt* in the papyrus is $\overline{\text{f}}$, not $\overline{\text{f}}\overline{\text{a}}$ as is assumed in the sealing. Griffith (who probably saw the sealings) suggests, however, op. cit. 88, that the $\overline{\text{a}}$ may be really $\overline{\text{e}}$. If we accept this as the true reading our difficulties vanish, for we then have $\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{f}}$, an abbreviation of *Hr-Snwsrt*, a well-attested locality at or near El-Lāhūn—for references to it see Griffith, loc. cit.—and the whole inscription reads: ‘The Scribe (who writes) under the seal of Hetep-Senwosret and Kha^c-Senwosret, ‘Ankhiyeb’; for this personal name cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, 62 (22). If this interpretation be accepted, there seems to be nothing left of ‘Ankh-Senwosret’.

BATTISCOMBE GUNN

The Expression for the Recipient in Middle Kingdom Letters

IN the translations given on pp. 6 ff. above of a report containing a number of M.K. letters, $\overline{\text{f}}$, used of the recipient in the epistolary formulae *iw hrw nb n* $\overline{\text{f}}$ c. w. s. *cd wd*, 1, 11; 2, 6; 5, 7; *nfr sdm* $\overline{\text{f}}$ c. w. s., 1, 11; *swd*: *ib pw n* $\overline{\text{f}}$ c. w. s., 3, 8; 6, 9, is rendered ‘the Master’, as was done¹ by Griffith, the first translator of M.K. letters, and not ‘my master’ or ‘my lord’, taking the $\overline{\text{f}}$ as suffix, with Gardiner,² Erman,³ Sethe,⁴ Scharff⁵ and, mostly, the *Wörterbuch*.⁶ The following lines will, I think, show Griffith’s translation to be the correct one.

In the formal style⁷ which is much used in the M.K. letters as well as the set formulae, the sender is referred to as *bṛk im*, ‘the servant there’,⁸ i.e. ‘this servant’. This being in the third person, to refer to the recipient as ‘my master’ would be very strange, for to whom could the ‘my’ refer? If any suffix were used it should of course be that of the third person, as we indeed find in the letter from Sinuhe to the King: *nh pw n bṛk im n nb-f* ‘it is the prayer of this servant for his lord’,⁹ B 213–14.

Gardiner, however, in his *Egn. Grammar*, p. 239, n. 8, cites, as a reason for translating $\overline{\text{f}}$ as ‘my master’, the fact that in N.K. letters *pry-i nb* ‘my master’ is regularly used. This is, I submit, not to the point, for in the N.K. letters the sender equally regularly refers to himself in the first person, which is in harmony with the first person possessive *pry-i* before *nb*; when he speaks of himself in the third person in the introductory formula *NN hr swd*: *ib (n)* . . ., using *nb* of the recipient, followed by the latter’s name, *nb* is logically given the third, not the first person suffix:¹⁰ *NN hr swd*: *ib (n) nb-f NN*.¹¹ The N.K. *pry-i nb* is thus not a mere development of a supposed M.K. *nb-i* but is the result of a

¹ *Kah. Pap.*, pp. 67 ff., *passim*.

² *Egn. Gr.*, e.g. §§ 188, 225, 298.

³ *Aeg. Gramm.*, § 532 b.

⁴ *Erläut. Lesest.* to p. 97, 15–16.

⁵ *ZÄS* LIX, 38.

⁶ In vol. II, 230 (10) $\overline{\text{f}}$ is ‘der Herr . . . als Adressat im Briefstil’, two of the above formulae being cited in the *Belegstellen*; in II, 478 (16), IV, 385 (4), 80 (7) it is ‘mein Herr’ in all three formulae.

⁷ It indeed breaks down frequently in the body of the letters, being replaced by ‘I’ and ‘you’, anticipating the N.K. style. For examples of letters in which the third person is maintained throughout cf. *Kah. Pap.*, pls. 29, 1–28; 31, 30–49; 33, 1–35; 35, 1–25; 36, 47–75 with 37, 1–4.



⁸ ‘There’ from the standpoint of the recipient, as we say ‘I am coming (not “going”) to see you next week’.



⁹ The difference between my translation and Gardiner’s (*Notes on* . . . *Sinuhe*, 83, 172) does not affect the point at issue.



¹⁰ *Nb* when followed by a name in apposition must take the suffix, not *pry-f* or *pry-i*; for the rule involved see Faulkner in *JEA* XVIII, 192, first para. Probably *nb* ‘the master’, without suffix or other genitive, could not have been brought over from the M.K. in this formula, for the construction with *nb* as a title preceding a name, e.g., *nb Msw* ‘the lord Mose’ seems to be unknown to Egyptian at any period.




¹¹ E.g., P. Leiden 360, 1; 367, 1; 368, 1; Gardiner, *Late-Egn. Misc.*, 5, 2; 8, 10; 10, 4 and often; P. Anast. IX, 1. The N.K. epistolary formulae have been carefully worked out by Abdel Mohsen Eff. Bakir, B.Litt., in a thesis which he hopes to publish before long.






change-over from the normal third-person reference to the sender in the M.K. to the first person in the N.K.

Further, there is the argument from orthography.  is certainly a possible writing of *nb-i*, and not infrequently stands for this in hieroglyphic; but if this were intended in the M.K. letters why do we never find it written , the regular writing of *nb-i* in M.K. hieratic, as the following references¹ show?

Nb-i written : *Peas.*, B1, 53 = R 97; B1, 88 = R 140; R 191 =  B1, 140; B1, 226.240; B1, 267 = B2, 22; B1, 290 = B2, 51; B2, 91; *Sin.*, B 261.267.


Nb-i written : *Peas.*, B1, 140 =  R 191; P. Prisse, 4. 2.²














Thus in M.K. hieratic papyri other than letters *nb-i* is written  14 times and  only twice—strong additional evidence that  is merely *nb* in the letters.

The external addresses of the letters must also be mentioned. On one side of the letter when folded up is  (never ) , the sign written very large, followed by  and either the recipient's title(s) and name or the sign , on the other side is the sender's name preceded by *mr* 'from'.  is obviously to be taken in the same way here as in the letters themselves; to translate, e.g., 'My lord, l.p.h., the scribe Senwosret, from Sebeknakhte' is again to introduce a 'my' hanging in the air, attachable to nobody.

BATTISCOMBE GUNN


The supposed Athribis of Upper Egypt

EGYPTOLOGISTS are familiar with a book entitled *Athribis* by Petrie (1908), dealing with his excavations near Wannīnah, 3 miles to the south-west of Sōhāg, where a Ptolemaic temple of the lion-headed goddess  was uncovered. In the text (p. 1) it is explained that this Upper Egyptian Athribis had as etymology for its name Hat-repyt 'the fortress of Repyt', whereas the Athribis at Benha in the Delta had as etymology Hat-her-ab, 'the fortress in the midst'.³ The possibility of different etymologies for one and the same place-name cannot be gainsaid, *Xέμμις* being a well-known example. Wishing for more knowledge concerning the Upper Egyptian locality, I turned to Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* IV, 108, where I found as follows:

     **hat Rpit** (MASPERO, *Rec. de Trav.*, xxv, p. 23),     (DARESSY, *Ann. Serv. Antiq.*, XIX, pp. 143-144),     (DARESSY, *Bulletin I.F.A.O.C.*, XIII, p. 180), 'le château de [la déesse] *Rpit*'.—Nom hiéroglyphique de la ville *Athribis supérieure* des Grecs (dans le IX^e nome de Haute-Égypte) *ατρνε* et *αορηβι* des Coptes

On looking up the references, what was my astonishment to find that no original sources are quoted for these various hieroglyphic spellings, and further searching has failed to reveal any. What is more, the '*Athribis supérieure* des Grecs', if not entirely without foundation, is at all events far from a fair representation of the facts. The Coptic *ατρνε*—this, Crum tells me, is the commonest form—is, of course, well known as the name of a locality near which Shenūte established his monastery, the Dēr el-Abyaḍ, i.e. 'The White Monastery', west of Sōhāg, and Amélineau (*Géographie*, 70), like Steindorff before him, not unreasonably conjectured that the Bohairic form *αορηβι* was influenced by the Lower Egyptian name Athribis. But that is one thing, and it is quite another to assert categorically the existence of an Upper Egyptian Athribis. Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.*, knows of

¹ Parallel passages have the same writing unless otherwise stated.

² I omit , *Peas.*, B1, 269 = B2, 24, taken as 'my lord' by Gardiner in *JEA* IX, 18, but (rightly, as I think) as 'Herr' (vocative) by Vogelsang in *Kommentar z. d. Klagen d. Bauern*, 188. 189, and 'O Herr' by Erman in *Literatur d. Ägypter*, 170.

³ The etymology of the name of the Lower Egyptian town will not here be discussed. A recent article has been devoted to the subject by M. Hamza, see *Ann. Serv.* xxxviii, 197 ff. For a different view see Albright in *JEA* xxiii, 201, in the footnote.

no such town, nor is it to be found in Preisigke's *Wörterbuch* or Dittenberger's *OGIS*. A further reference in Gauthier's paragraph took me to his article *La déesse Triphis* in *Bull. inst. fr.*, III, 165 ff., where the evidence at that time available for the goddess *Τρίφης*, *Θρίφης* is interestingly set forth,¹ and mention made of an inscription containing the words *ἐν τῷ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει Θριπιείῳ*,² which may very well refer to the temple discovered by Petrie a few years later, this, as its discoverer tells us, situated at the desert edge 2 miles south of the Dēr el-Abyāḍ. In the same article Gauthier produced testimony to a goddess of Ekhmīm, different from Isis, whose name was *𓆎𓆃𓆏* *ꜥpr(t)-st*—the variant *𓆎𓆃𓆏* seems less correct—and it is that goddess whose name Gauthier for a time strangely supposed to have furnished the origin of the Greek Triphis. However, the supposition quickly ceased to appeal to him, since in the following volume of the same periodical, where he dealt with *ΑΤΡΗΝΕ*³ under the heading Athribis (IV, 78 f.), he stated *Τριφεῖον* (*sic*) to be 'la traduction de l'égyptien *ht-t-r'p'* "demeure de Triphis" '.

This etymology had, indeed, been given already by Steindorff in 1890 (*ZÄS* xxviii, 52), though without analysing Triphis into *𓆎𓆃𓆏* *Tr-rypt* as is done in *Wb.* II, 415, 7. Whether the primary meaning *vornehme Frau* given to *rpwt*, *rypt* by *Wb.* is correct seems to me doubtful, and since as early a document as the stela C15 of the Louvre provides the word with the determinative *𓆏* even when used as the actual name of a goddess,⁴ I am inclined to attach to it at least some tinge of the well-known secondary meaning 'female image', 'statue'. Could it be the Egyptian way of expressing what we might render as 'type', 'model', or 'ideal' of a woman? Or could it mean simply the 'female counterpart' of a god? I am not at all sure that either of these conjectures is right, but certain it is that Spiegelberg's attempt (*Aeg. u. Gr. Eigennamen*, 30*) to interpret the *rypt* of Atripe as connected with the stem *ryp*, making of her a goddess of vegetation, is altogether wrong. Scharff, in an excellent article on a beautiful stela from Ekhmīm of the time of Hadrian (*ZÄS* LXII, 86 ff.), brought to light two new facts about Triphis, firstly that she was regarded as the wife of Min and mother of the late child-god Kolanthes,⁵ and secondly that the name *ꜥpr(t)-st*, to which attention had been called by Gauthier (see above), was a mere epithet of hers. If that epithet signified

¹ Preisigke, III, 389 gives as further reference for *Θρίφης* Par. 5, col. 42, 2 = Wilcken, *Urk. d. Ptolz.* II, 163. The inscription with *Θριπιδι θεα(ι) μεγιστηι* found by Wilkinson on the site of Petrie's temple is given in his *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, II, 100 f. Lastly, a decree from Ptolemais (El-Minshah) dating from the reign of Ptolemy VII Physcon describes the foundation (there) by a military officer of a shrine *Θριπιδι Κολανθα (ι) Πανι θεοις συνναοις* 'to Thripis, Kolanthes, Pan, and the associated deities', Cairo, 44638 = Lefebvre, *Ann. Serv.* III, 215 ff.

² The inscription (Berlin, No. 2184) is completely published by Krebs in *ZÄS* xxxii, 47; it dates from the 38th year of a ruler who Krebs declares can only be Augustus. Preisigke, III, 301, quotes also *Θριπιείον ὄρος* from his *Sammelbuch* 1267, 8.

³ Crum states that *ΑΤΡΗΝΕ* is less frequent than *ΑΤΡΙΠΕ* and that *ΑΤΡΗΝΕ* (Amélineau, *Monuments*, I, 241) occurs only once.

⁴ *Wb.* II, 415, 2 cites this example as though it were the epithet of Hathōr. But it represents a separate deity; for a photograph of the stela, clearly showing *𓆏*, not *𓆏* as given by Pierret, see Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, frontispiece. The Munich stela containing another similar list (Dyroff & Pörtner, pl. 1) substitutes *𓆎𓆃𓆏*. Kees (*ZÄS* LVIII, 84) calls attention to the title *𓆎𓆃𓆏* 'prophet of Rēpet' held by an O.K. high-priest of Heliopolis, *Ann. Serv.*, XVI, 204. Faulkner quotes a curious sentence from Ch. 99 of the Book of the Dead: Hārhotpe has here (*Urk.* v, 151, 17) *𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏*, and another M.K. coffin has the variant *𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏 𓆎𓆃𓆏* showing that *Hr* is genitive after *rypt*. None the less, I am convinced it is impossible to render 'the hands of the statue of Horus', since whenever *rypt* signifies an image or statue, it is always that of a female, the corresponding word for image of a male being *twt*. Consequently I propose as a tentative translation: 'its leather thongs (?) are the hands of the female counterpart of Horus'.

⁵ Scharff, loc. cit., 91, n. 3 quotes an inscription from Esna (Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 1079) as evidence of this relationship. It is strongly suggested also by the Greek inscription from Ptolemais quoted above in n. 2.

which Butler takes for the Upper Egyptian place in agreement with the Syriac, this adding 'a city of the Thebaid'; Crum, however, comments that, if so, it is strange that Palladius should say nothing of Shenūte's White Monastery close at hand. As previously noted, Amélineau (p. 70) had earlier cited from the eulogy of Macarius of Tkōou a Bohairic form ⲁⲓⲣⲏⲃⲓ, which occurs in the statement, 'There was a monastery in the province of Ekhmīm (ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲩ ⲩⲁⲙⲓⲙ) facing a village (ⲫⲁⲓⲉ) which they call Athrēbi'.

Thus there proves to be a small amount of very late testimony to an Athribis in Upper Egypt, as maintained already by Champollion in *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, I, 266. It is doubtless from Champollion that the designation was inherited successively by Wilkinson, by Gauthier, and by Baedeker. No Greek or Latin geographer, however, makes any allusion to such a place, so that Gauthier's expression 'la ville *Athribis supérieure* des Grecs' can hardly be allowed to pass unchallenged.

The name Atripe is associated in our minds with Shenūte's White Monastery, but it is now evident that the name was not that of the site on which the monastery was founded, but belonged properly to the temple of Triphis near Wannīnah two miles along the desert edge farther south. This conclusion had already become clear to me when Crum produced a passage from Shenūte's own works which clinches it. In Zoega, p. 567 = Leipoldt, *Sinuthii Opera*, IV, 120 we read: ⲡⲉⲛⲏⲱⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲩⲏⲡⲉⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲉⲗⲟⲩⲧ ⲡⲧⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲧⲣⲓⲫⲓⲟⲩⲩ ⲩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲣⲏⲩ ⲙⲡⲏⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲩⲟⲓ 'Our district is from the valley that is on the north of the village of Triphion (or did Shenūte call it Triphiou?) northwards to the valley which is on the south of the house of our father Pshoi', the latter being the Red Monastery just about as far along the desert from the White Monastery in the northward direction as this is from the temple of Triphis in the southward direction. The passage is of additional interest as containing one of the only examples in Coptic of the Greek form ⲧⲣⲓⲫⲓⲟⲩⲩ; Crum can cite only one other, an obscure example in Lantschoot, *Colophons*, I, p. 132. The usual Coptic form ⲁⲧⲣⲓⲡⲉ always occurs in the phrase ⲡ (or ⲩⲡ) ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲩ ⲛⲁⲧⲣⲓⲡⲉ 'in the mountain of Atripe', where 'mountain', in Greek ὄρος, means no more than 'desert'. Thus in describing the White Monastery as 'in the desert of Atripe' the Coptic writers use a topographical designation which certainly covered a few miles. In the midst of the White Monastery Kees found a naos (Weill had previously seen it, but had copied it incorrectly) dedicated by King Achōris (Dyn. XXIX) to ⲛⲓⲧⲓⲱⲧⲉ ⲩⲱⲩⲱⲧⲉ, var. ⲩⲱⲩⲱⲧⲉ 'Horus who is in Shenwet(?), lord of Neshau' or 'Shau' (ZÄS LXIV, 108 f.), and in view of other fragments of granite in the vicinity deemed it probable that the naos was on its original site. If so, the early name of the place in which the White Monastery was subsequently built may have been Neshau or Shau.

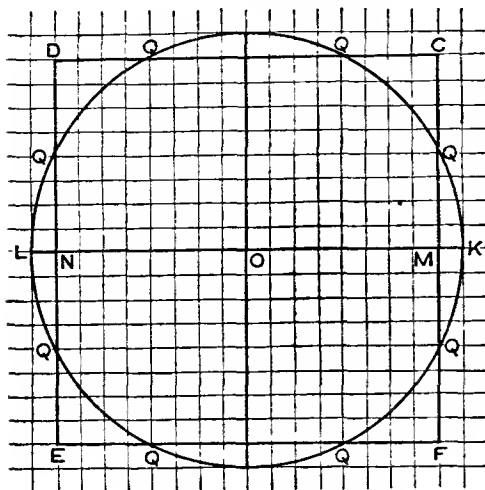
The foregoing note deals admittedly with very minor issues, but the discussion may serve as an object-lesson in the way in which the Pharaonic geography has in the past been treated. This branch of our studies requires revision from top to bottom.

Postscript. My typescript was already in the hands of the Printer when an authentic example of *Hwt-rpyt* came to light in an unpublished Ptolemaic list of divinities of which Faulkner has been good enough to show me a copy. Here (P. Brit. Mus. 10569, 18, 5) we find, written in hieratic, the words ⲛⲓⲧⲓⲱⲧⲉ ⲩⲱⲩⲱⲧⲉ 'Isis in *Hwt-Rpyt*'; note the absence of the definite article. There is nothing in the adjacent entries to confirm or to contradict the identity of the place here named with the Atripe near Sōhāg. In conclusion, let it be noted that both Sethe (*Sonnenauge*, 37) and Junker (*Onurislegende*, 88) refer to the Upper Egyptian locality as Athribis; the latter scholar in particular has interesting things to say about its goddess.

ALAN H. GARDINER

Squaring the Circle: Suggested Basis of the Ancient Egyptian Rule

IN the figure, radius $OK = 9$ units; $\frac{1}{2}$ -side-of-square $CM = OM = 8$. Q 's are $\frac{1}{4}$ -points of the sides; $QM = 4$. By Pythagoras, $OQ^2 = 8^2 + 4^2 = 80$; so $OQ = 8.944 = 9 - 0.056$; defect only 6 in 1000. Thus Q is practically on the circle. The



Egyptian, drawing 9-unit circles on squared surfaces, would discover point (8, 4), i.e. Q , on the circle, as apparently he discovered point (3, 4) on a 5-unit circle (vide *Nature*, 3807 Oct. 17, 3812 Nov. 21 (1942), The Saqqara Graph). Thus he would find the 9-unit circle to be the $\frac{1}{4}$ -point circle of a square.

Now area of circle ($OQ^2 \times \pi = 80 \times 22/7 = 251.4$; or $OK^2 \times \pi = 81 \times 22/7 = 254.6$) approximately equals area of square ($16^2 = 256$). This fact would come to the Egyptian by intuition, possibly checked by counting squares; segment $QKQM$ and square corner QCQ are obviously about 6 squares each. Thus he would get area of circle = $CD^2 = MN^2 = (KL - KL/9)^2 = (d - d/9)^2$, the rule, in modern terms, found in the Rhind and Moscow papyri. The

method illustrates well the Egyptian 'scientific' attitude, combining intuition with concrete experience.

R. S. WILLIAMSON

One more Duplicate of the Hood Papyrus

ON the *verso* of P. Brit. Mus. 10474, famous for its *recto*, which is entirely occupied by the Teaching of Amenemope, there are written four compositions, the first of which, as yet unpublished, is described by Budge¹ as follows: 'Three columns containing forty-nine lines of hieratic text, very badly written in a large, coarse hand by an unskilled scribe. The first line of Col. I is written in red ink, and reads ', and the author of this "Teaching" (or "Instruction") in solving problems of the heart seems to have been an official called Amenemāpt, (Col. I, l. 10), like the author of the "Teaching" written on the Obverse. He appears to have been connected with the offerings and treasury of the god Amenemāpt, after whom he is named. The last line but one on Col. III seems to contain the name of the scribe. Parts of the text are of a poetical character, and the Moon, Orion, and the Great Bear, , are mentioned.'

This description agrees with that of the Hood Papyrus.² The titles of the two books, as well as the names of their authors, are the same. The moon, Orion, and the Great Bear figure in both texts and are enumerated in the same order. The onomasticon, already known from the Hood Papyrus, the Golénischeff Glossary, the strip of leather Brit. Mus. 10379,³ some fragments of papyrus found in the Ramesseum, and one or two ostraca,⁴ was indeed a popular composition, and there would be nothing surprising if a new copy were to be forthcoming. The comparison is, therefore, tempting and probable; it must nevertheless be checked up; this task I leave to my English friends.

G. POSENER


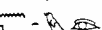
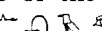
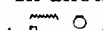
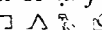

¹ *Facsimiles of Eg. Hierat. Pap.* 11, p. 18. The others are two hymns and a Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days, cf. op. cit. 1, pp. xvi-xvii, pls. xxxi-xxxiii and 11, pp. 18-19.

² Brit. Mus. 10202, cf. Maspero, *J.As.* 1888, 250-80, 309-43.

³ Glanville, *JEA*, xii, 171-5.

⁴ The title of the book figures also on the *verso* of *Pap. Boulaq IV*.

The Original of Coptic ⲡⲁⲓ 'see'

Wb. II, 221, 20 registers a rare Middle Kingdom verb  to which it questioningly assigns the meaning 'watch over' (*bewachen*). A passage from the Napata stela of Tuthmosis III proves this to be none other than the old writing of the common Late-Egyptian  *nw* 'see', 'look', the Coptic^{SB} ⲡⲁⲓ. The passage in question (*ZÄS.* LXIX, 35, 35) says of the defeated enemy, 'not one of them recovered the power of (lit. 'found', *gm*) his hand,  *n nw-f r h* nor looked behind'. In another inscription of the same king (*Urk.* IV, 697, 13) we find in an exactly similar context  *n nw-n w h-f* 'nor could any look behind himself'. It is needless to dwell on a difference so slight as the substitution of *h-f* for *r h*; suffice it to add that of *Wb.*'s two earlier examples of *nw*   can be rendered 'the [Ennead?] which beholds Rē when he goes forth from the horizon' and the other, less instructive, also illustrates the use, unknown for *nw*, with direct object. I do not think this discrepancy grave enough to invalidate the thesis here maintained.

ALAN H. GARDINER

A Footnote to the Civil War of A.D. 324

AMONG the group of Vienna papyri published by E. Boswinkel in the second volume of *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* (Leyden, 1941: I hope to review this publication in *J.E.A.* XXXII) is one text (P. Vindob. Boswinkel 14) whose significance has, I think, escaped its learned and acute editor. The substance of the text is a letter from a *procurator* to the *exactor* of the Hermopolite nome informing him that the *rationalis* Οὐτάλιος has brought to his attention the Government's urgent requirement of box and acanthus wood for the repair of the men-of-war lying in the arsenals of Memphis and Babylon. The document raises a number of points of interest; here I am concerned only with its date and its occasion. The editor remarks that the *rationalis* of this name is otherwise unknown, but Οὐτάλιος is the transcription of Vitalis, and a Vitalis is known to us as the sender of a letter of introduction for one Theophanes to Achillius, *praeses* of Phoenicia (and was clearly an official of some standing) (P. Lat. Argent. I, published by H. Bresslau in *APF*, III, 168 sq.). From unpublished papyri in the Rylands collection it appears that Theophanes' journey to Phoenicia and Syria took place some time in the third decade of the fourth century (Wilcken in *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, p. 120, note 1, had already assigned Vitalis' letter to a date before A.D. 344). But the date can be fixed with greater precision, if we assume, as I think we may, that it is the same Vitalis who appears in both texts. In the spring of 324 civil war broke out between Licinius and Constantine which ended in the latter's decisive victory at Chrysopolis, a victory itself only made possible by the destruction of a large part of Licinius' fleet in the Dardanelles (see N. H. Baynes in *C.A.H.* XII, 695). Both sides had built up powerful fleets and Egypt contributed no less than 130 ships to the losing side. If much of Licinius' fleet consisted of such old tubs as are described (l. 3 πολύκωπα παλαιωθέντα) in the Vienna papyrus (which I should assign to A.D. 323, when it became apparent that war was inevitable), it is hardly surprising that it proved no match for the numerically inferior squadrons of Constantine.

C. H. ROBERTS

A Note on P. Argent. Gr. 1, Verso, Col. I

PROFESSOR ANGELO SEGRÈ writes, in reference to the communication by Dr. Heichelheim, *JEA* XXIX, 78f., that he considers the remains of line 7 of the column here in question too scanty to justify restoration. In any case, he adds, the reading given is impossible, because 'gold noummia never existed, and while nummi and gold nummi as aurei did exist, and nummi are mentioned in Greek papyri of the fourth century, noummia, as far as I know, appear only much later'. If the denarius in line 20 is a silver denarius, the value given to it, he holds, would seem to suggest that the account was written in the last years of Constantine. He sees no reason to change anything in his remarks referred to in note 1 on page 79.

[A. SEGRÈ]

REVIEWS OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Slain Soldiers of Neb-hepet-rē Mentu-hotpe. By H. E. WINLOCK. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition Publications, vol. xvi. New York, 1945. viii+40 pp., 20 pls.

In the season of 1925-6 the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum found at Dēr el-Baḥri a catacomb containing some sixty bodies of soldiers who had been slain in battle. A first summary account of this find appeared in the expedition's annual Bulletin, but in the present volume we welcome a detailed record of this remarkable find.

That these soldiers marched in the army of that Mentuhotpe who finally brought the royal house of Heracleopolis down in ruin and extended his sway over all Egypt is proved not only by their burial in the precinct of his own funerary temple—a signal honour—but also by ink markings on the linen wrapping their bodies. Winlock shows from the nature of their wounds that these men fell in an assault on a fortress, possibly, as he suggests, Heracleopolis itself; the somewhat gruesome photographs on pls. 11-12 show that some of the corpses lay out long enough to be torn by vultures before being recovered for burial.

Some interesting points emerge in connexion with the military equipment of the period. A few of the leather bracers or wrist-guards worn by archers to protect their left wrists from being flayed by the bow-string have been preserved and are shown on pl. 4 (one actually in place on the wrist); they are much smaller than that worn by King Tut'ankhamūn (two different aspects, Nina de G. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pls. 77-8), which appears to have encased the wrist and extended right up the forearm. The arrows from the wounds were, as often, tipped with ebony, but curiously enough were all devoid of the chisel-shaped flint head usually found with contemporary arrows; two fragments of bow-staves showing the methods of attaching the bow-string appear on pl. 5. None of the weapons borne by these soldiers were buried with them, so presumably they were either looted by the enemy or returned to store.

A chapter is devoted to the linen wrappings with their ink-written marks and proper names, there are appendixes dealing with bone-measurements and body-wrappings, and useful indices. Altogether this is a study of importance to those interested in Egyptian military affairs.

R. O. FAULKNER

The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē at Thebes. By NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES, edited by LUDLOW BULL and NORA SCOTT. New York, Metropolitan Museum (Publications of the Egyptian Expedition, vol. xi), 1944. ix+118 pp., 122 pls.

In this posthumous publication the late N. de G. Davies has crowned the unceasing labours of a lifetime; at last we have an adequate publication of the tomb of the Vizier Rekhmirē. This is one of the most important, if not the most important, of all the Theban tombs, for its many scenes and inscriptions shed light on secular and religious matters alike; on the one hand we have a mass of information regarding the administration of Egypt, including the famous texts on the Installation and the Duties of the Vizier—of which a valuable collation is given on pls. 116 ff.—and on the other hand there is a depiction of the funerary rites unrivalled at this date. The many plates display alike the author's well-known skill in delineating the scenes before him and his patience in extracting the last detail from the walls of the tomb, while the letterpress bears evidence as to the amount of study he devoted to the interpretation of what he drew. The volumes before us maintain the standard of appearance we have come to expect from the publications of the Metropolitan Museum.

In a work of this nature and extent there are bound to be points here and there upon which a difference of opinion is possible, and a few alternative suggestions are offered below:

P. 9 = pl. 74. There seems no obvious reason why the god $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ should be regarded as a corruption of 'Hebed-ro' (p. 9, n. 30).

P. 19, l. 13, for *km kꜣ* read *kꜣ km*.

P. 31. D. questions the usual view that the 40 *šm* laid before the Vizier in his audience-hall are rolls of the

law; he thinks that they may be leather batons or lictors' rods belonging to the 40 heads of districts. This opinion is based primarily on their appearance, but is supported by a passage from the Louvre writing-board text of the Instruction of Douaf (referred to by D., p. 32, n. 74), where the slack weaver is beaten with 50 *šm*. It must be admitted that the *šm* in the scene in question do look much more like rods or thongs rather than rolled documents of leather, but the difficulty is to explain why such rods should be laid before the Vizier; he is transacting the regular business of his office, not conferring degrees of rank, and there is no mention of the issue of batons in the accompanying inscription regarding his duties, whereas one would expect the Vizier to have law-books at hand for reference. Here the matter must be left, with the remark that at present there is nothing but an opinion to set against D.'s view.

P. 71. There are errors of reference here. Episodes Nos. 2. 3. 4. are not on pl. 76 as indicated, but on pl. 83, with No. 5.

P. 89. The rendering of *šnp* (pl. 26, 1) as 'chain of office (?)' seems more than doubtful. *Pyr.* 2044, referred to by D. in n. 55, tells us no more than that *šnp* was an article of wear; the det. 𓏏 suggests a tassel or fringed garment, and the 𓏏 of Rekhmirê may conceivably be a corruption of this. From the fact that in late times *šnp* is used of a mat on which the mummy lies (*Wb.* iv, 514, 10) it seems likely that it was some kind of woven vestment worn by the Vizier, whence doubtless the usual view that it was a garment; curiously enough, the *knî* with which it is associated in *Pyr.* 2044 (*Art Brustlatz*, *Wb.* v, 51, 9) can also refer to a kind of mat.

D.'s translations of the inscriptions adequately convey their sense, but he is at times apt to render with a freedom which comes as something of a shock to the purist, and here and there he seems to have erred a little. Space does not permit of detailed discussions of his renderings, but one or two points may be noted. For instance it is doubtful if *hry-tp*, consistently translated as 'regent', is really best rendered thus; etymologically the translation may be defensible, but in point of fact the English word 'regent' has acquired a sense of 'acting as substitute for a king' which is in no way implied by the Egyptian term. Again, the substantive 𓏏 *im:h* (pl. 16, 8) is translated on p. 18 as 'status (?)' while the derived epithets 𓏏 *im:h(w)* and 𓏏 *im:h hr* are translated respectively as 'the accepted one' and 'accepted by'. But in fact this stem implies a degree of honour due to a person, so that in the first instance I believe *im:h* to mean 'the respect due to him' (the Vizier), and that the epithets quoted refer to the 'honour' in which the deceased is held by the gods on account of his virtues.

These differences of opinion on matters of detail do not, however, detract from the importance of this invaluable publication, which is a fitting monument to one who selflessly devoted his whole time to that Cinderella of Egyptological science, the recording of standing monuments.

R. O. FAULKNER

Papyrologisch Handboek. By W. PEREMANS & J. VERGOTE. Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, Philologische Studien, Ser. II, Part I. Louvain, 1942. Pp. xx+330; 16 plates; 1 map. 125 francs.

This new introduction to Papyrology will be of interest even to those papyrologists who know no Flemish, because extensive bibliographies mention books and articles on many subjects which were accessible on the Continent in 1942, but have not all reached this country yet. The different subjects treated and extensively indexed are as follows: definition of papyrology, the sources, the writing materials, fabrication and conservation of papyri and ostraca, deciphering and editing, history of papyrology, political history and topography, the languages, government and administration, civil and criminal law, religion, national and social developments, economic life, culture and morals, private life. Many of the plates show photographs of unpublished papyri belonging to Louvain University Library which were destroyed in 1940. The authors are to be congratulated for having completed a standard work under difficult conditions. We conclude with the hope that a second edition will supply the omissions down to the conclusion of the European War.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

Ἱστορία καὶ Εἰσηγήσεις τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ Δικαίου. By G. A. PETROPOLOS. Athens, 1944. Pp. xxx+1571.

This is a book of enormous size, in one volume, published during the difficult occupation period in Greece. It treats the history of Roman Law, Roman Private Law, and Roman Criminal Law. Its existence should be known to papyrologists, because it is the most recent general survey of this kind in which the

legal importance of the papyri is dealt with in many well-reasoned notes. That a number of books published in England and America during the war make occasional revisions necessary is not a fault to be laid at the author's door. The main outline of his instructive survey is in no way affected by such minor blemishes.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

Papyri and Ostraca from Caranis (*Michigan Papyri*, vol. VI; *Ostraca Michigan*, vol. II). By HERBERT CHAYYIM YOUTIE & ORSAMUS MERRILL PEARL. Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan Press. 1944. xxi+252 pp., 7 plates.

A double name has been given to this volume, Pap. Mich. VI and Ostr. Mich. II. It presents 63 papyri and 272 ostraca in a reliable and instructive edition vouched for by the names of its two well-known editors. The ostraca will be commented upon in Ostr. Mich. III together with those of Ostr. Mich. I, and can best be discussed after this volume has appeared. A number of these documents have already been published separately in *Transact. Am. Phil. Assoc.* LXXI-LXXIII (1940-2); *Class. Philol.* XXXVII (1942), XXXIX (1944); and in *Amer. Journ. Philol.* LXIII (1942) with a fuller discussion. Above all, tax problems of Roman and Byzantine Egypt will be further illustrated by these texts. Among the papyri I mention especially No. 372 with new information on the large estates of Caranis; Nos. 421-6, petitions which illustrate the hardships and accidents of life in the Egyptian country-side and clear up many genealogical tables. Nos. 423-4 will doubtless be discussed many times as testimony to magic and folk-lore during the period of Septimius Severus. This document, in two identical copies which supplement each other, appears to relate to the magical use of a *βρέφος*, an embryo, to prevent justice being done. This is an unpretentious, but extremely useful and reliable publication.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM

Additions and Corrections to 'Horus the Behdetite,' *JEA* xxx, 23 ff.

Of the four corrections here, the two of intrinsic interest are due to Dutch friends. P. 28, n. 1, l. 4, *for* names *read* nomes. P. 29, n. 3. De Buck points out that the old reading of 𓂏𓂏 was *3ks*, cf. 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *Coffin Texts*, I, 184 f.; the reading *Tks* in *Wb.* I, 34, 3 was on the right lines, but is not quite correct. In *ZAS* LXXVII, 24 ff., not yet received in this country, there is an article by H. Kees, entitled '*Tks* und *Hpj*, zwei Königsinsignien als Gottheiten'. P. 33, n. 6, l. 3, *delete* above *and after* reproduced *insert* on p. 34. In the great dedicatory inscription of Amenophis III, Varille, *Karnak*, I, pl. XXVI, * 𓂏 stands as the word for 'grand total.' P. 36, l. 17, Stricker points out that the god of Letopolis was, not Har-merti, but a 𓂏𓂏𓂏 Haroëris, the eyeless god; Har-merti was of course, the god of *Šdmw*, Pharbaethus.



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